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THE SOCIAL AND  
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OF  
CENTRAL POLYNESIA



IN THREE VOLUMES  
VOLUME III



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# THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF CENTRAL POLYNESIA

BY

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AUTHOR OF *THE MALULU MOUNTAIN  
PEOPLE OF BRITISH NEW GUINEA*

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## VOLUME III.

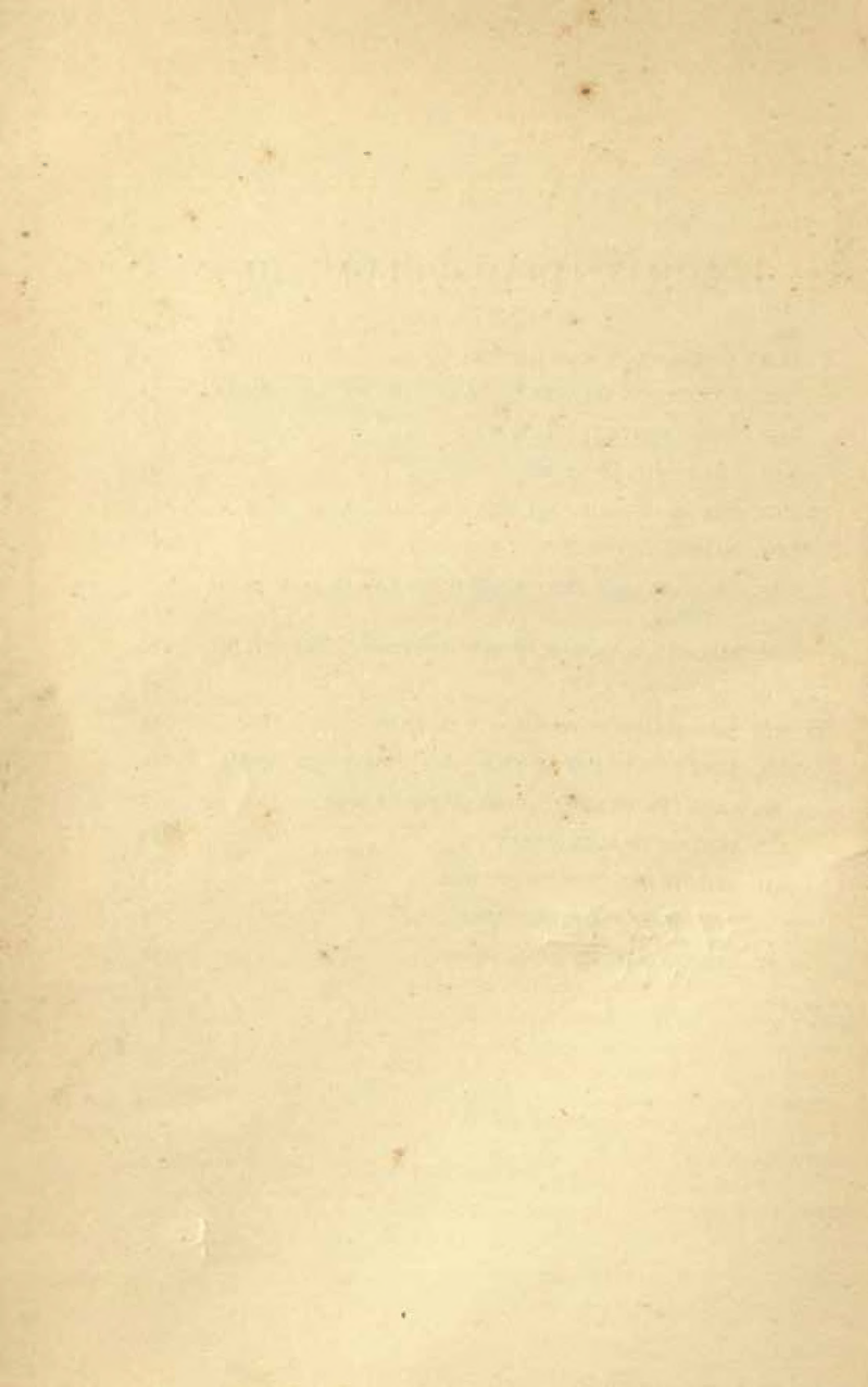
- p. 67, l. 30. For dependents read descendants  
p. 153, l. 29. For mania read maniaia  
p. 204, l. 2. For Marquesas read Paumotu  
p. 378, l. 10. For matamiapo read mataiapo

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## CHAPTER XXIX

### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

#### PRELIMINARY

I HAVE already discussed, under the title of the "Social Character of War," the vengeance inflicted by a man and his people upon anyone who had done him an injury and the people of the culprit. The subject now to be considered is primarily the formal administration of justice by persons or bodies of persons whose office it was to perform the duty, though I shall also refer to punishments that were adopted for certain offences, even though they did not follow formal trials. In some of the islands there seems to have been little or no organized system of justice, especially as regards offences committed against persons not belonging to the aristocracy, the general bulk of the people being to some extent left to fight out their own quarrels. Concerning the punishments considered to be appropriate for specific offences, it is sometimes difficult, and indeed impossible, to determine whether writers are referring to those inflicted by a qualified person or court, or to those which public opinion recognized as a fitting retribution to be dealt by the aggrieved person or persons themselves. In this respect there may be some confusion in my introduction of some statements as to punishments into this or the other chapter.

The penalties generally adopted in the various islands for adultery and other sexual offences may be mentioned incidentally now and then, but will not be regarded as forming any part of the present subject matter, unless, at all events, they appear to have been inflicted by order of a tribunal, and not merely by the aggrieved parties. Writers give for some of the islands more or less detailed graduated scales of punishment for various sexual offences; so the subject is more suitable for consideration in connection with sexual and matrimonial matters, with which I hope to deal at a later date.

I have in my investigations and in writing this book been under the difficulty of trying to discriminate between customs



that may be regarded as truly native in character, and such as may have had their origin in the influence of government officials, missionaries, and others. Changes of this sort may be suspected in matters of government, and in none more so than in those relating to the forms of administration of justice, and particularly the punishments inflicted for the various offences. We must recognize the possibility, and in some cases the strong probability, that some of the forms of punishment of which writers tell us were not quite those of the early days prior to the beginning of European influence.

### SAMOA

In Samoa punishment for an offence was to a very large extent left to the injured person or persons. Several writers assert this, or make statements which indicate that it was so<sup>1</sup>.

As regards judicial punishment, it would seem that the head of the family had some jurisdiction within his own family. Stuebel gives an account of a rape by a young man, apparently a member of a consanguine family occupying a village, upon a girl of what appears to have been of the same family, and the account says that, on complaint being made to the head of the family, he ordered that the offender should be very severely beaten if he attempted to do it again<sup>2</sup>. Walpole says that each family generally had its orator, who arranged its disputes, and pleaded its cause, and each village had an orator who acted as magistrate and adjudicated, though an appeal might be made to the *fono*<sup>3</sup>. I do not know in what sense Walpole uses the terms "family" and "village," but we may, I think, assume that he regards the former as being a section of the latter; and as we have seen that the orators at *fono* were heads of families or other social groups, we are led to the conclusion that the head of what he calls a family, or a village, was its official magistrate, subject, in the latter case—the group referred to there being large enough to have a *fono*—to an appeal to the *fono*.

Ella says that the principal duties of a chief consisted in administering municipal laws, settling disputes, punishing transgressors, and other matters which he mentions<sup>4</sup>. He says on another page, that, though the chiefs acted as magistrates

<sup>1</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 150. Hood, p. 133. Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, p. 193. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 96. Stuebel, p. 133. Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 633.

<sup>2</sup> Stuebel, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Walpole, vol. II, p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 631.



and judges, as well as councillors and law-makers, their authority was little more than nominal, and it was a difficult matter to maintain their laws or impose punishment for offences; a spirit of democracy had always characterized the Samoan people<sup>1</sup>. Elloy says that the authority of the chiefs was only shown when certain thefts or notorious crimes, such as adultery, homicide, or grave insult to a chief had to be punished<sup>2</sup>. It must be borne in mind that the chiefs to whom these writers refer would, presumably, be heads of social groups, generally larger or more important than those whose magistrates were merely orators; so we have evidence of an extension to what seems to have been a higher circle of the system of jurisdiction to which Stuebel and Walpole refer, the underlying principle of which—magisterial powers of the head of the social group—is not destroyed by any statements as to weakness of authority, either of the orator, from whose decision an appeal could be made, or of the chief.

Passing now to the system of magisterial jurisdiction of the *fono*, Turner says that, if two families in a village district [I am using my terminology] quarrelled, and wished to fight, the other heads of families and the chief stepped in and forbade it; and it was at the peril of either party to carry on the strife contrary to the decided voice of public opinion. Then again, just as in the individual village districts the chief and heads of families united in suppressing strife, so in the event of a disturbance between any two village districts of the district, the combined chiefs and heads of families of all the other village districts in the district united in forbidding it<sup>3</sup>. Ella says that public offenders were arraigned and their punishment adjudged at the *fono*<sup>4</sup>. According to von Bülow, disputes between the kindred of different families were adjusted by the assembly of the place, which punished the originator, or, if it thought fit, both parties. The assembly of the place, however, only interfered with disputes inside the same family in order to prevent excesses; such disputes referred to the name of the family [its headship], which was perhaps claimed by several members of the family at the same time, or to the landed property of the family<sup>5</sup>. Hübner says the authority, exercised by the chiefs and *tulafale*, at a village or district assembly, which possessed

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vi, p. 598.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, pp. 180 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XLIV, p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. iv, p. 633.



both legislative and judicial powers, was never contested either in the village or the district<sup>1</sup>. Krämer, after referring to the system of punishment without trial by the aggrieved parties, says that though this was in the main the old Samoan method, there were a number of crimes, such as adultery or robbery of taro plantations, which were regarded as being so evil that the co-operation of a third party often occurred in such cases, and as an illustration of this, he refers to punishment by the village council<sup>2</sup>. Elloy says that, if a quarrel arose between different villages, the principal persons of the governing village of the district intervened to make peace. If there was too much delay in hearing them, they brought the whole population: and as these had to be received, the provisions were soon exhausted, and the quarrellers, having nothing more to pay to their advocates, had to come to an understanding<sup>3</sup>. Von Bülow says that, though the Samoan had the right of private vengeance, this right expired as soon as the assembly of the place had punished the offender, or had accepted an atonement offered to it; and that he who avenged himself personally after this had been done incurred the penalty of being driven out of the place and having his house burnt down, his property devastated, and his plantations and pigs forfeited to the assembly<sup>4</sup>.

Walpole appears to be the only writer who refers to the case of an adjudication by a single official being subject to an appeal to the *fono*, so we cannot say to what extent it prevailed. Also there is no suggestion of the decision of a *fono* of a small area, such as a village, being the subject of a possible appeal to the *fono* of the larger area—say the village district. I draw attention to Ella's use of the word "public," in speaking of the offender whose case came before the *fono*, and to von Bülow's statement that the assembly of a place only interfered with disputes inside the same family in order to prevent excesses. I may point out as to this that in general administrative work each area and sub-area was self-governing; so that the internal affairs of, say, a village would presumably not be interfered with by the *fono* of the district in which that village was situate, except so far as it might be necessary to do so for the purposes of the district as a whole. It is possible and seems likely, that a similar system prevailed in the administration of justice; that is, that a father's

<sup>1</sup> Hübner, vol. II, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. II, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XLIV, p. 368.

<sup>4</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, p. 192; cf. *Ibid.* vol. LXXXIII, p. 376.



jurisdiction over the members of his domestic household would not be interfered with by the village *fono*, unless it was thought necessary to do so for the safety and well-being of the village; and the *fono* of the village district would not interfere with the judicial decisions of the *fono* of the village, unless necessary for the village district; and so on. My suggestion is obviously speculative, but statements by Brown are consistent with it. He says that acts of oppression or cruelty by the head of a family, or haughty conduct of a chief, could not be punished; the only remedy for the oppressed person was to go away and live with another branch of the family<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, offences against other villages were often visited with very severe punishment, because they might lead to war. There is an example of a youth who stole a canoe belonging to a man of another village, and who was found out. The heads of families of his village therefore bound him in the usual way, like a pig intended for killing and eating, carried him to the other village, and deposited him as a symbolic sacrifice in the *malae* there; and by this act of deep humiliation they appeased the anger which had been caused<sup>2</sup>.

Brown seems to be the only writer who gives any account of the course of procedure of a *fono* in acting as a court of justice, and his account applies only to what he calls a village *fono*. He says that there was no recognized form of procedure, except that the accused was not allowed to be present, unless he had a seat in the *fono*, in which case he might deny the charge, and would then be confronted by the accuser. Some speaker would describe the offence, and in case of punishment being decided on, young men of the village would carry out the sentence, as there were no regular officers appointed for the purpose. There were, however, generally one or two members of the *fono* who had the right of "naming" [I suppose this means deciding upon and not merely pronouncing] the punishment<sup>3</sup>.

I imagine that the verdict of the *fono* would often be based upon a consideration of evidence of guilt submitted to it verbally; but the Samoans had other methods of arriving at a decision.

One method of detecting a thief was to send for a sacred object from the temple—a coconut-shell drinking cup, or conch shell, or two stones—and each of the suspected parties would

<sup>1</sup> Brown, p. 261. An offending chief could, however, be deposed.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 289 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 288.



lay his hand on the object, and pray that the god would look upon him, and send swift destruction, if he had taken the thing which had been stolen. Under this ordeal the truth was rarely concealed, as they firmly believed that it would be death to touch the sacred object and tell a lie<sup>1</sup>; indeed any one who became ill soon after he had taken an oath, was regarded with suspicion<sup>2</sup>. If the suspect, before swearing, laid a handful of grass upon the sacred object, his imprecation involved the death of all his family and the overgrowing of their habitation with grass<sup>3</sup>. As regards the use of a drinking cup, I may say that in one place a large wooden bowl [perhaps a kava bowl], decorated with white shells, and regarded as sacred to the great god Moso, was used by priests in praying to him to punish thieves and other offenders with sudden death<sup>4</sup>, and in another place a bowl was the "image" [I am sure he only means emblem] of the god Tangaroa<sup>5</sup>. The object used in any village or district would probably be something associated with a god who was worshipped there. Another method was for the suspected person to dig a hole in the ground, the idea involved being that he should die and be buried, if he had committed the offence charged against him; or he would touch his eye or pretend to cut himself with a knife, thereby indicating a punishment of blindness or a violent death<sup>6</sup>. A person being suspected of not telling the truth [I do not gather that this refers to proceedings at a *fono*, or even to crime only], the person who doubted him would say "Shall Moso eat you?" and if he was being truthful he would reply "Moso may eat me"; this was sufficient to convince the most incredulous, but if the man dared not repeat the words, it was safe to conclude that he had lied<sup>7</sup>. This would probably be in a place where Moso was the great god. Stuebel refers to this method as having been used to settle a dispute<sup>8</sup>; he also tells of a method of ascertaining which of two disputants was telling the truth by the spinning of a coconut, and observing to which of them its eye pointed when it fell<sup>9</sup>. Von Bülow says that the oath of an alleged thief was evidence of guilt or innocence<sup>10</sup>, which shows how implicitly the people believed in the divine punishment or magical disaster, that would fall upon a man

<sup>1</sup> Turner, p. 19. Brown, pp. 268 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Brown, pp. 268 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Stuebel, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 129 sq. Cf. Krämer, *S.J.* vol. II, p. 99.

<sup>10</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. XXIX, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Brown, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Pritchard, p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 130.



who swore falsely on a sacred object, in the name of a god, or with the symbolic actions to which I have referred.

Sometimes all the members of a village would have to clear themselves by taking the oath<sup>1</sup>. At the time appointed, the chief men of the place would assemble in the *faletele* or big house, where, having sworn their own freedom from sin, they sat in solemn state, whilst the rest of the people of every sort and description filed before them, each in turn swearing his innocence. The system was usually successful in case of theft by a native from a native<sup>2</sup>. If all swore, and the culprit was still undiscovered, the chiefs wound up the proceedings by committing the case to the village god, and solemnly invoking him to mark out the culprit for speedy destruction<sup>3</sup>. Another method of discovering which of a number of persons had been guilty of theft is described by Stuebel. The chiefs and *tulafale* being assembled, a kava vessel was brought, and each person had a small piece of cord in which a knot was tied, which he dipped into the kava, after which, the kava and knots being mingled together, the kava was prepared and drunk. When a man's kava was brought to him, he poured a little on the ground for the god, and pronounced a prayer that "this drink of kava shall reveal him who has stolen the thing." After that, if any man was bitten by a "fish" in the sea and died, or was bitten by an animal in the forest, or thrown down and wounded, or killed by a [falling?] tree, this was attributed to the miraculous power of the god<sup>4</sup>. Stuebel says the thief generally shrank from the consequences of his oath and confessed<sup>5</sup>. A somewhat similar account of this ceremony is given by Krämer<sup>6</sup>. I may say that the belief prevailed in parts of Polynesia that illness inflicted by the gods often took the form of knotting or twisting up of the internal organs; and it may be that the knotted cord was symbolic in this sense.

Brown says that in disputed cases and judicial proceedings the oath was not taken by the accuser or by any of the witnesses, but only by the accused or suspected person or persons<sup>7</sup>. Elsewhere, however, he says that an accused person, *or some witness* [the italics are mine] might take an oath, and in those cases perjury was supposed to be punished by disease or death<sup>8</sup>. It is possible that he is, in this latter statement, referring to some

<sup>1</sup> Turner, pp. 183 sq. Brown, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> Brown, p. 268.

<sup>5</sup> Churchward, p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> Stuebel, p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. II, p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 289.



relative or friend of the accused who, perhaps in his absence, swore on his behalf. I presume that Brown's statement that the accused was not allowed to be present at the trial referred only to the time of hearing the verbal evidence against him; he must have been there if he had to take the oath.

Several writers deal with the different forms of offence and the punishments that were regarded as appropriate to each. The evidence shows that various alternative punishments might follow the same offence, and that various offences might be visited by the same punishment. An attempt to tabulate the matter would therefore be unsatisfactory and confusing; but I propose to refer to the different methods of punishment, indicating generally, so far as I can, the class or classes of cases in respect of which each is said commonly to have been inflicted. In doing this, I may, as already indicated, introduce evidence which really relates to private vengeance not following judicial proceedings, it being impossible in some cases to say what is the interpretation to be put upon the evidence.

Stair divides the methods of punishment in Samoa into two classes, namely *o le sala*, destruction of houses, live stock and plantations, with, at times, the seizure of personal property and banishment, and *o le tua*, or personal punishment<sup>1</sup>.

Stair gives an account of the mode of inflicting the punishment of *o le sala*, which, he says, was usually carried into effect immediately after the *fono* had decided upon it. The "leading men" [which expression probably refers to the principal members of the *fono*] rising from the place of meeting, proceeded with their followers to the house of the family to be punished, and seated themselves down in front of it. One of them then addressed the head of the family, informing him of the decision, and that they had come to enforce it. After this one of the judicial party got up, and began to ring the family's breadfruit trees, so as to destroy the parts above the injured bark, leaving the stumps alive and uninjured, so that fresh shoots would spring from them, and they would again bear fruit after two or three seasons. This was the signal for resistance or submission; and in the latter case the family would gather together some belongings and leave the house, which was then set on fire and destroyed. In the meantime the young men had been

<sup>1</sup> Stair, p. 91.



sent off to plunder the family's plantations and catch and kill their pigs; and even the mats and household property were apparently confiscated, unless, as often happened, the family had heard of the sentence in time sufficient to enable them to remove these things to a place of safety. Whilst all these proceedings were going on, the members of the *fono* continued sitting in front of the house, quietly plaiting sinnet, chatting together and watching, apparently quite unconcerned. Finally the provisions which had been collected were cooked and eaten by the expelling party, who then returned to their homes. Sometimes banishment was not included in the sentence, and in that case the house would not be burned. When it was included, the family could only wander off in search of a home elsewhere. The period of banishment was not specified, except on very particular occasions; nor was the place of it. It was generally considered sufficient to know that the banished people were on the road, and they were free to take shelter where they liked provided they kept out of the village from which they had been expelled; sometimes, however, they were warned to remove to a distance. Should the banished party be influential, it sometimes happened that, they having acknowledged the power of their village by submitting quietly to punishment, some friend would suggest that the authority of the *fono* having been asserted and acknowledged, it was desirable to recall the exiles, and so avoid the loss of strength to the village caused by their absence. If this was agreed upon, those who had decreed the punishment went in a body to the place where they were to be found, and invited them to return. Generally they consented to do this, but sometimes a banished family, even if asked to return, would remain away for years, or even permanently<sup>1</sup>.

Von Bülow refers to the severe punishment of slaughtering all the offender's pigs and devastation of his taro plantation, rendered still more severe by burning his house and driving him out of the place. He says a banished man sought admittance from the chief of, or relations in, a friendly clan (*Stamm*); sometimes it would be an enemy chief or relations in an enemy clan, and in that case he might not return to his village. Any effort by a man to return uninvited was regarded as a challenge to war; it was necessary for the village that had banished him to fetch him, or the friendly village in which he had sought

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 91-4.



shelter might lead him back and beseech that he should again be admitted<sup>1</sup>.

Stair, after referring to the power of the *tulafale* to depose and banish an obnoxious chief, and the many instances of this having been done to chiefs on account of their tyranny and oppression, says the obnoxious chiefs were always taken to Tutuila, the recognized place of banishment, and committed to the charge of the authorities of that island, who were advised of it beforehand, so that they might make the needful preparations to receive the chief and his party. A great many of the chiefs and people of the district accompanied the exile or exiles to see that their sentence of deportation, and their punishment and degradation were duly carried out. When the party reached Tutuila, the prisoner was landed from his canoe, and had to run the gauntlet from the beach to the settlement to which he was taken, the inhabitants of the district forming two lines between which he ran, and pelting him with stones, belabouring him with sticks, and subjecting him to other indignities, so that he was often severely injured, or even killed<sup>2</sup>. Ella also says that chiefs were occasionally deposed and sent to Tutuila<sup>3</sup>. Stair gives examples of cases in which chiefs of Savai'i, and even *tuiaana* were banished in this way to Tutuila<sup>4</sup>.

It will be noticed that in Stair's account first above quoted he says it was generally considered sufficient to know that the banished people were on the road, they being free to take shelter where they liked, though sometimes they were warned to remove to a distance; whilst in the Tutuila banishments they were taken there. Probably the one only refers to ordinary cases, and the other to those of chiefs—perhaps chiefs of some importance—who had to be got well away. I have found no reference to any custom of sending banished persons adrift and alone in canoes.

Stair says that the punishment of *o le sala* was usually inflicted by the whole available force of the district awarding it, and I assume that in this he is referring to punishment by the *fono*. Sometimes it was submitted to tamely, but at other times there was resistance, involving desperate encounters, and even general wars. The punishment was also inflicted sometimes by one family upon another, if the former was strong enough to

<sup>1</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXIII, p. 377. Cf. von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, pp. 192 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Stair, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 597.

<sup>4</sup> Stair, pp. 71 sqq., and *J.P.S.* vol. IV, pp. 114 sq.



do so; and, though this was irregular, it was connived at by the leading people of the community; but they would interfere, if excessive punishment was attempted<sup>1</sup>.

According to von Bülow, the *o le sala* punishment, including banishment, was the penalty for insulting a chief<sup>2</sup>. The banishment of chiefs to Tutuila was evidently an important matter, and the fear of it would enable a chief's subjects to keep a check upon any inclination on his part to tyrannical treatment. Von Bülow refers to banishment without formal trial in connection with murder, homicide and adultery; and says that incorrigible repeated theft was punished in this way<sup>3</sup>.

Death punishment was generally inflicted by the parties injured. Brown knew of only one instance of a man being executed by judicial decree for murder<sup>4</sup>. Stair also says that during his residence in Samoa only one such instance occurred. The victim was tied to a tree, the rope being fastened round his legs, and then wound slowly, but tightly, upwards, the criminal meanwhile shrieking fearfully, and beseeching his executioners to kill him with an axe and put him out of his misery. His crime had been a bad case of family murder, in which he had taken five or six lives, and the execution was only resolved upon after a long and anxious "native trial"<sup>5</sup>. Stuebel refers to death punishment inflicted by tying to a tree as a recognized method<sup>6</sup>. Williams tells us of a case in which an influential chief, evidently of Tuamasanga, being accused of an attempt to excite war, underwent a trial, which lasted three days, was found guilty and executed. He says: "I suppose the authority in such cases to have been vested in Malietoa and others"; and gives as his reason for this the subsequent visit of "the whole tribe" to Malietoa's house, at which they prostrated themselves with all the signs of humility and degradation and were ultimately pardoned<sup>7</sup>. It is probable that this was a trial by *fono*, but as we do not know what is implied by Williams's use of the words "and others" we cannot say how that *fono* was constituted.

The following were the visible signs of humility and degradation by which, according to Williams, these persons obtained pardon. Each of them brought a stick of firewood, a stone and some leaves, and on arriving in front of Malietoa's house, they

<sup>1</sup> Stair, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. XLIX, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Brown, p. 291.

<sup>5</sup> Stair, pp. 101 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Stuebel, p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> Williams, pp. 529 sq.



held out this token of their submission. Williams says that in this way they were perhaps signifying that they were at the mercy of the chief, and had brought the materials by which they might be cooked if he ordered it, or the act may have been intended simply to indicate that they were his slaves, to cook his food, and perform his servile work<sup>1</sup>. We have seen, in considering the question of totemism, how propitiation for an offence against a god sometimes took the form of a mock symbolic sacrifice of the offender by cooking him in an oven, and I think that Williams's first explanation may well be the correct one. This method of obtaining pardon is referred to by other writers<sup>2</sup>.

The infliction of the death punishment seems to have been specially the punishment for murder and grave political offences, and we have had an example of its application following an attempt to bring about war.

Minor offences, such as, according to Stair, theft, insulting travelling parties, preparing pitfalls, and taking the comb out of a married woman's head, were also the subjects of punishments, inflicted by the *fono*, and carried out, immediately after sentence had been pronounced, in the presence of the whole assembly. For such offences as these there were punishments of which Stair gives the following examples: compelling the culprit to inflict severe wounds and bruises upon himself, by beating his head and chest with a large stone, until the blood flowed freely, this being enforced, if he was not sufficiently energetic, by others with unsparing use of a war club; making him bite the poisonous *tevi* root, which produced swelling of the mouth and caused intense agony; or play at handball with a poisonous spined fish or a prickly sea-urchin; tying his hands and feet together, passing a pole through them, carrying him to a public place, and placing him in the broiling sun, to be exposed for many hours together to its intense heat; tying his feet together, hoisting him up to the top of a tall coconut tree, and leaving him suspended there, head downwards, for many hours<sup>3</sup>. Turner speaks of taking out the eyes, or biting off the nose and ears as a punishment for adultery. For other offences, he mentions one or two of the penalties referred to by Stair, and adds the following: tying the hands of the culprit behind his back and marching him along naked; carrying him tied up

<sup>1</sup> Williams, p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, p. 193, and vol. LXXXIII, p. 377. Stuebel, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Stair, pp. 95 sq.



and suspended from a pole, which according to Turner, was prickly<sup>1</sup>. Wilkes refers to some of these punishments, and speaks also of flogging<sup>2</sup>. Some writers refer to the substitution of fines for some of these punishments, but I should suspect that this was a relatively recent development; and Stair, after enumerating the forms of punishment, his statements as to which have appeared above, says that they "have now mostly, if not entirely, become obsolete, and fines of pigs, property, etc., have taken their places"<sup>3</sup>.

Other writers refer to and discuss this subject of punishment<sup>4</sup>; some of them have been quoted by me in part, but I do not propose to prolong this chapter by introducing all this material.

## TONGA

In Tonga the king acted, according to West, as chief magistrate, and was the ultimate court of appeal. His magisterial powers were, however, often delegated to the governors of the various groups of islands or great districts, and from them to inferior chiefs. No chief could interfere with the tenant of another; and if he desired revenge or justice, it could only be obtained through the legitimate lord, unless he chose to risk a contest<sup>5</sup>. Cook says that Tongatabu was divided into many districts (he learnt the names of thirty of them), each of which had its particular chief, who decided differences there, and the lower order of people had no property, nor safety of their persons, being at the will of the chiefs to whom they respectively belonged<sup>6</sup>. According to the *Duff* missionaries, the minor chiefs had concurrent jurisdiction in their own sub-districts<sup>7</sup>; the officers of state also maintained a sort of general jurisdiction<sup>8</sup>. Home says that the king [George] was the chief judge<sup>9</sup>.

I think these scrappy statements may be interpreted as pointing probably to a general system of what I may call graduated jurisdiction, the head of a small area—say a village or small district—being its official magistrate, dealing exclusively with his own people, but subject, perhaps, to the superior authority of the head of the larger area, of which his small area formed part, as to certain things—possibly those that affected the larger area as a whole, or its head chief. West's "king" was

<sup>1</sup> Turner, pp. 179 sq.      <sup>2</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, pp. 140 sq.      <sup>3</sup> Stair, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, p. 530. Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, pp. 192 sqq. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, pp. 96–101. Stuebel, pp. 126, 132–6. Strauch, *Z.f.E.* vol. XXIV, p. 226.

<sup>5</sup> West, p. 262.

<sup>6</sup> Cook, vol. V, p. 424.

<sup>7</sup> Wilson, p. 269.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. liii.

<sup>9</sup> Home, p. 637.



king George—that is, the secular king or *tuikanokubolu*; the chiefs to whom he and other writers refer would be a graduated series of chiefs, extending probably, in the very small and unimportant areas, to people who could not be called chiefs. If, as I believe, social and local grouping were in Tonga, as they evidently were in Samoa, and seem to have been widely in Polynesia, coincident, then it would seem that the magistrate was usually the head of the social group.

It will be noticed that the evidence refers only to the exercise of autocratic magisterial authority by certain persons, and does not mention any exercise of deliberative jurisdiction by a *fono*. We have seen that one of the purposes for which, according to Mariner, *fono* were held at frequent intervals, was to deliver lectures to persons who had offended; but the adoption of this practice does not justify an assumption that the people taking part as councillors in *fono* would on these occasions be consulted formally as such as to either the offence or its appropriate harangue. If, however, I am right in thinking that the Tongan *fono* was a consultative body in dealing with civil questions, we may well suspect that it would be so, at all events to a certain extent, in dealing with crime.

The practice of swearing innocence prevailed in the Tongan islands. Cook says that in Tongatabu, when anything had been stolen, and the thief could not be discovered, the people were all assembled before the *tuitonga*; his sacred bowl was filled with water, after which he washed his hands in it, and it was then cleaned. Then all the people came forward, one by one, and each of them touched the bowl in the same manner as that in which they touched his foot when they made obeisance to him. It was believed that if the guilty person did this he would die on the spot, not by violence, but by the act of the god; so the man who had committed the theft, not daring to face the ordeal, was found out<sup>1</sup>. The use of this bowl apparently involved a direct appeal to the divine power. Mariner refers to the use of a "consecrated bowl," whilst kava was being mixed in it, as an implement in the swearing by the chiefs of Haapai and Vavau of their allegiance to Finau. They placed their hands on the bowl, and invoked the god Tui-fua-Bolotu, to whom the bowl was consecrated, praying him to punish them with untimely death, if they broke their vow; and Mariner says that the bowl was held consecrated, because it was only used

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. v, p. 354.



for making kava at ceremonies affecting that god. If a great chief took an oath he swore by the god, laying his hand on the bowl; if an inferior chief took an oath, he swore by his superior relation, who would be a greater chief, and laid his hands on the feet of the latter<sup>1</sup>. I do not say that the bowl to which Cook refers in connection with theft was the same as that mentioned by Mariner<sup>2</sup>, and indeed, if it were so, there would be discrepancies in the evidence as to the persons who might use it; but I think there was a similarity of the idea involved in both cases, based upon a belief that the bowl was associated with something divine, though the divine being in the case of the bowl used in connection with theft may have been the *tuitonga* himself. The same idea is disclosed by what took place at a trial held in 1886 when the alleged culprits had to take the oath of innocence on a bible, and he who swore falsely was stated to have died a few weeks afterwards<sup>3</sup>.

Mariner says that a man guilty of theft, or any other crime, was regarded as having broken the taboo, and as being in consequence specially liable to be bitten by sharks; so a suspected person was required to go into water infested by sharks, and if bitten, was believed to have been guilty<sup>4</sup>.

Spinning of a coconut, a form of augury used in connection with illness, was also a method employed by women to decide disputes in games<sup>5</sup>; so it may have been used for criminal matters also.

Turning now to the subject of punishment, Mariner, after giving an account of the fighting between Finau and his enemies, including the final struggle to retain his ascendancy in the Haapai Islands, in which he was successful, refers to the punishments which he inflicted upon a number of chiefs and *matabule* whom he had taken prisoner. These were in certain cases execution in a barbarous form; but the punishments to which I wish to draw attention were the following: putting them on board old and useless canoes, which were then scuttled and sunk; taking them three or four leagues out to sea, and then placing them, tied hand and foot, in old and leaky canoes, which would gradually sink<sup>6</sup>. Monfat also refers to the placing by

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. 1, p. 137 and note. See also term *fooa-kava* in vocabulary in vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> In Baker's dictionary the term *fajanonga* is given as meaning a small bowl idolatrously used by persons about the *tuitonga* and his tribe.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 309 note.

<sup>4</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 186.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 85.



Finau of a surrendered chief into a rotten canoe, in which he only with great difficulty reached Tongatabu<sup>1</sup>.

I have found no information as to punishments regarded as appropriate for specific crimes, except as regards adultery.

### SOCIETY ISLANDS

In the Society Islands each chief administered justice in his own district<sup>2</sup>, or, in case of his absence it was done by his governor-general<sup>3</sup>; but the king was nominally the chief justice of his whole dominions<sup>4</sup>, and each chief was subject to the king, to whom his own subjects might appeal<sup>5</sup>. Disputes about property were referred to the chief<sup>6</sup>. An example is given of the over-riding authority of the king by J. R. Forster, who tells of an occasion on which the king of Huahine sent his chief attendant to the district of one of the chiefs with orders to apprehend certain thieves, and seize the goods which they had stolen, which was done, the delinquents being punished<sup>7</sup>. Tyerman and Bennet, speaking of cases of theft, say that witnesses were seldom called, the offenders generally acknowledging their misdeeds, and casting themselves on the justice of the court; and when sentence was pronounced the prisoner was usually asked if he agreed to it, and generally answered in the affirmative<sup>8</sup>. The officials referred to by writers as kings would probably be great head chiefs, such as the Pomares in northern Tahiti, the head chief of Papara in the Teva area, and the head chiefs of Ra'iatea and Huahine.

It would seem, however, that the official system of administration of justice was put into motion in connection with offences against the chiefs rather than as between the people themselves. It is stated that justice was not enforced by any law or regularly administered, though a chief did sometimes punish his immediate dependents for faults committed against each other, or even the dependents of other chiefs, if the offence was committed in his district<sup>9</sup>; that there was no regular code of laws, and, except in cases of offences against the king or chiefs, rulers were seldom appealed to<sup>10</sup>; that criminal punishment was unknown, except in the selection of obnoxious

<sup>1</sup> Monfat, *Tonga*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Forster, *Obs.* p. 356. Ellis, vol. III, p. 121. Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, 264 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Forster, *Obs.* p. 362.

<sup>5</sup> Forster, *Obs.* pp. 356 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Cook, vol. I, p. 227.

<sup>7</sup> Ellis, vol. III, pp. 117, 120 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Parkinson (2), p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, pp. 180 sq.

<sup>10</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 123.



characters for occasional sacrifice<sup>1</sup>; that the people obtained satisfaction with their own hands, whether justly or unjustly, for every injury received<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes disputes were referred to a bystander, and the party he declared to be in the wrong submitted and made his opponent a peace offering of a plantain stalk<sup>3</sup>. There were no regular police; the chief of each district was accountable to the king for the conduct of the people within that chief's jurisdiction, and the final appeal was to the chief ruler, whose decision was generally regarded as binding<sup>4</sup>.

The question arises, was there in the Society Islands any system of administration of justice by a consultative body comparable with that of the Samoan *fono*? Tyerman and Bennet's reference to "the court" might point to this, but does not necessarily do so; the court referred to might consist only of a chief, perhaps with one or two of his personal advisers by his side. The Duff missionaries say that disputes, not decided by superior force, were decided "by arbitration in the separate districts"<sup>5</sup>; but this arbitration might, so far as we know, be conducted either by a consultative body or by a ruling chief, so the statement does not help us. I draw attention to what I have said, in discussing the middle and lower classes, about the persons called individually *iatoai*, and collectively in each district *hiva*. These were, as we have seen, according to Ari'i Taimai, hereditary under chiefs, warriors, whose duties included, among other things, the punishing or revenging of insults offered to their head chief; and she says they may have been the source of parliament, civil service, army, *law courts*, *police* (the italics are mine), etc. An example has been given of the adjudication by the *hiva* of the district of Papara of a dispute as to its head chieftainship; and we have Andia y Varela's statement that there was no other judge, tribunal, or member for trying cases of offenders, other than the *ari'i*, or in his absence, his governor-general. Then again, I also refer to statements quoted in discussing the system of council meetings, that the king could not, without the consent of the district chiefs, punish any great chief (J. R. Forster), and that questions regarding themselves (this apparently referring to the *ari'i*) both socially and politically, were decided by a court whose judges were composed of the heads or elders of the families

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, p. liii.

<sup>2</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 201. Cf. Ellis, vol. III, p. 123; Cook, vol. VI, pp. 157 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, p. 326.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, pp. liii sq.



having an ancestor from the Vaiari temple, whose judgment was final (Salmon). Cook says that disputes among chiefs were settled by their own people<sup>1</sup>.

It seems to me that the most probable explanation of all this evidence is that the administration of justice among the people who were not regarded as belonging to the class of the *ari'i* rested, so far as it was carried out, with the chief of the district, subject perhaps to some right of appeal to a higher chief, and not with any representative judicial council; but that there was machinery by which disputes between members of the *ari'i* class could be tried by a court of certain members of that class. In order to compare this last suggested explanation with the Samoan judicial *fono*, we should have to know how far downwards in social rank people were, or might be regarded as being *ari'i*; it is possible, for instance, that both suitors to this consultative court and members of the court might include certain of the higher *ra'iatea*, who are in fact often spoken of by writers as chiefs, and in that case the systems of Samoa and the Society Islands may not have been so different as at first sight they appear to have been. I might repeat, with reference to the Society Islands, my comment as to this question as affecting Tonga.

Divination was sometimes used for detection of crime. Ellis says that in Tahiti several forms of this were resorted to for the purpose of discovering the perpetrators of wrongful acts—especially theft, and he gives the following example. People who had been robbed, and wished to discover the thief, placed the matter in the hands of a priest, who, after praying to his god, caused a hole to be dug in the floor of the house and filled with water. He then, holding a young plantain in his hand, stood over the hole, and again prayed to the god, who, if propitious, conducted the spirit of the thief to the house, and placed it over the water. The image of the spirit, supposed to resemble that of its owner, was thus reflected in the water, and identified by the priest, and the thief was discovered<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes the priest failed in his first attempt, and postponed the operation until the next day; and as this adjournment became known by the people and came to the ears of the thief, the latter, in alarm at the prospect, usually returned the stolen

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. 1, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis, vol. 1, pp. 378 sq. Cf. Turnbull, p. 343. L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. 1, pp. 143 sq.



property during the night, and so avoided further enquiry<sup>1</sup>. There is no indication whether this method of discovery was utilized in connection with an official trial, or with a view to action by the parties aggrieved, or both.

Banishment seems to have been the punishment inflicted for several forms of offence, of which the following are examples: refusal to pay tribute to a chief<sup>2</sup>; refusal to provide a victim, required by the king, for human sacrifice<sup>3</sup>; refusal to accept the *taniau* [the bit of coconut leaf brought by a great chief's messenger] in token of acquiescence in a royal mandate<sup>4</sup>; adultery in high and influential life, the male culprit being banished by the king<sup>5</sup>. The London missionaries refer to an occasion of preparations by Pomare I and his son Tu to receive visitors, in which the construction of a part of the roof of their house was entrusted to the people of a district, but was not completed in time. They appeased him with propitiatory offerings, but it is said that, if they had failed to do this, they would probably all have been beaten, and perhaps plundered of their property and expelled from their land<sup>6</sup>. A man who had been appointed by the great chief Vehiatua to act as servant to the Spanish missionaries had quarrelled with them, and run away, stealing some of their property. The chief therefore ordered that the house of the man and his father should be burnt, that they should be banished, and that their relations should be dispossessed of their land. Owing to an appeal for mercy by the Spaniards, the pair were not banished, but they were despoiled of their plantations and left landless. In point of fact, apparently, they had to go off somewhere, as no one in any of the other Teva districts would admit them after what had occurred<sup>7</sup>. There are two other examples of banishment by Vehiatua for theft from the Spaniards; in the account of one of them it is said that the proper punishment for the theft was death, but the Spaniards succeeded in getting that of banishment substituted<sup>8</sup>. It will be noticed that in each of these cases, except those connected with the Spaniards, the person against whom the offence was committed was a chief or king, and it was so even in the Spanish case, seeing that the

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. I, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. I, p. 357; vol. II, pp. 137 sq., 201. Crook, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> L.M.S. *Trans.* vol. II, pp. 276 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 350.

<sup>5</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, p. 201 (he was, however, pardoned on the intercession of the Spaniards).

<sup>6</sup> L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. I, p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, pp. 87 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 191, 203.



Spaniards were there with the permission of Vehiatua, and so were entitled to his protection. Ellis says that the king, if he felt himself strong enough, would banish instantly any one who resisted his authority, and send some one else to take possession of the culprit's lands, and occupy his station as chief of the district<sup>1</sup>. Death or banishment was the punishment usually inflicted by the chiefs, and often the objects of their displeasure were marked out as victims for sacrifice<sup>2</sup>. He says that rebellion, or shaking the government, withholding supplies, or even speaking contemptuously of the king or his administration, were by general consent considered criminal; and so heinous was such an offence that the culprit was not only liable to banishment, or the forfeiture of his life, but a human sacrifice had to be offered to atone for the guilt, and appease the displeasure of the gods against the people of the land in which it had been committed<sup>3</sup>.

Banishment seems, however, to have been one of the punishments for theft also; for the high priest of Purea [the wife of Amo, the head chief of Papara and of the Teva group] told Parkinson (1769) that some years before the chiefs of Tahiti and the neighbouring islands had banished such of their criminals as were convicted of theft, and such other crimes as were not thought to deserve death, to Borabora<sup>4</sup>.

Borabora was then a recognized place to which persons guilty of certain offences were banished; but other places of banishment are mentioned also. Arbousset says it was to the Paumotuan island of Makatea that criminals were deported by Tahitian sovereigns<sup>5</sup>. Turnbull found a Tahitian chief who "had been driven into voluntary exile" in Maura [? Moorea, Eimeo]<sup>6</sup>; but I suspect this was a case of general banishment, in which the chief ultimately found his way to Maura. Tyerman and Bennet tell us that anyone disregarding a taboo sign on trees was banished to a desolate island, but do not specify it<sup>7</sup>; this would, of course, be a specially grave form of theft. Andia y Varela says that Pomare punished some offences by banishment, for which purpose certain islands in his dominions, including one called Maitu or Mehetia [which I have not identified] were appointed<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Parkinson (1), p. 73 *note*. Cf. Turnbull, p. 190; Parkinson (2), pp. 61 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> Arbousset, p. 296.

<sup>6</sup> Turnbull, p. 192.

<sup>7</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 264.



Death was, as we have seen, an alternative to banishment as a punishment inflicted by a chief. Several writers say that death was a recognized punishment for theft<sup>1</sup>; but the punishment seems generally to have been inflicted by the parties injured. The mode of execution might be hanging on a tree<sup>2</sup>, or drowning (generally from a canoe)<sup>3</sup>. Often the thief was only beaten, and, according to some writers, made to restore the article stolen<sup>4</sup>. Another punishment for a trifling theft was to tie the prisoner's hands fast, and set fire to his beard and the hair on other parts of his body<sup>5</sup>. Among the lower classes, seizure of the property of the delinquents was a frequent mode of retaliation for theft, and other crimes<sup>6</sup>. We have seen that murder would probably, under the *lex talionis*, be punished by death; but I have found no reference to this punishment having been inflicted as the result of an appeal by the family of the murdered man to a chief, acting as magistrate.

The Society Islanders, like the people of some of the other Polynesian islands, had a god of thieves. The Society Island deity was Hiro, and Ellis says that his aid was invoked by those who went on expeditions of plunder, the priests probably receiving a portion of the spoils. Chiefs of considerable rank had sometimes been detected in the act of stealing, or had been known to employ their domestics to thief, receiving the articles stolen, and afterwards sheltering the plunderers. This, however, had generally been practised on the property of foreigners. Among themselves, the thief, if detected, experienced no mercy, and was often murdered on the spot; and even, if detected afterwards, was sometimes dreadfully wounded or killed<sup>7</sup>. The London missionaries say that the Tahitians held thieving among themselves to be a bad thing, and did not scruple to kill a thief if they found him; but they did not suppose that their deities were angry with them for stealing, and indeed prayed to them for success<sup>8</sup>. According to the

<sup>1</sup> Bougainville, p. 253. Parkinson (2), pp. 41 sq. Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 19. Forster, *Voy.* vol. I, p. 582. Cook, vol. VI, p. 158. Ellis, vol. III, p. 125. L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. I, p. 105, and other writers.

<sup>2</sup> Bougainville, p. 253. Parkinson (2), pp. 41 sq. Forster, *Obs.* p. 407. Kotzebue, vol. I, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. I, pp. 19, 356; vol. II, p. 259; vol. III, p. 203. Parkinson (2), pp. 41 sq. Forster, *Obs.* pp. 364, 407.

<sup>4</sup> Bougainville, p. 253. Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 19. Parkinson (2), pp. 41 sq. Kotzebue, vol. I, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. I, p. 356.

<sup>6</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 126.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 125.

<sup>8</sup> L.M.S. *Trans.* vol. I, pp. 105 sq.



Spanish records, persons caught in the act of stealing were punished; but, if not taken in the act, they were allowed to go free, and nothing was done to them, although it might be known that they had committed the theft<sup>1</sup>.

I cannot say how I think these statements should be interpreted. If the idea was that people might properly steal from foreigners (which expression might, I think, be regarded as extending perhaps to all strangers, white or Polynesian and to enemies) but not from each other, this would be a simple explanation, consistent with ideas of duty within the social group; but theft was evidently not confined to the goods of white men, and there is no evidence that it was confined to those of Polynesian strangers or enemies. The statement that a thief, if not caught in the act, was not punished is hardly consistent with the practice of detecting him by divination referred to above, nor with Ellis's reference to killing or wounding him "if detected afterwards"; but it may be correct, at all events to a certain extent.

#### HERVEY ISLANDS

Gill is speaking of the island of Mangaia, and perhaps of the Hervey group, when he says that the settlement of disputes rested with the tribal chief<sup>2</sup>. Moss says, concerning Rarotonga, that the *ariki* was sometimes priest, and the power of taboo was acknowledged and felt by all. The taboo often did good service in the absence of positive public law, and was the most formidable weapon which church and state could yield. The rule of the father of the family sufficed for ordinary needs, public laws scarcely existed, and the few relating to land and its incidents were well understood. There were no judges and no police. Councils, of greater or less importance or scope, were convened according to the subject to be considered<sup>3</sup>. Moss then passes on to other subjects. I find no reference to any criminal jurisdiction by a representative council for either island, unless we may infer from what Moss says that the Rarotongan councils exercised it; and, looking at the context, I do not think there is any ground for doing so.

A few examples are given of punishment of an offender by direct orders of a chief, and in each of them the offence has

<sup>1</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. I, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 17; *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 21.



been against the chief, or of a public character. In one case two chiefs of one of the Tongan groups of Mangaia, with their families and adherents, were exiled by the chief of the then dominating Ngariki group for an attempt to seize the supreme chieftainship of the island<sup>1</sup>. It is not stated that they were sent to any particular place, the only information being that they were thought to have reached New Zealand; so we must, perhaps, believe that they were simply sent adrift. In another Mangaian case two men of the Tongan group and their friends were exiled on account of an attempt to murder the head chief and most important priest of Mangaia; and here again the same belief arises; for all that we are told of them is that some of them reached Rarotonga<sup>2</sup>. In another Mangaian case the cousin of the chief of one of the districts had, during a period of scarcity, stolen food from another part of the island; this was followed by a retributive attack by the people of the offended district; and the district of the chief and his cousin (the offender) was devastated. The chief therefore bound his cousin hand and foot and threw him into the Auraka burial chasm<sup>3</sup>. Other offences of a similar character, punished in the same way, are referred to<sup>4</sup>.

Turning to punishments inflicted, without official trial, by the parties injured, I refer to examples of this that have appeared in the discussion of the social character of war, to which I add the following further particulars. I mentioned the burning of the house of a murderer and his family as a punishment for murder; but will here say how this was done. The method was to catch two or three sphinx moths, unwind their probosces, and tie on to them narrow strips of native cloth, which were lighted at one end, but only smouldered. The moths were then set free near the house of the intended victim, and made for the thatch; and in a few seconds the house would be in a blaze. The doors were sometimes first secured, whilst the people were asleep, so as to render escape impossible<sup>5</sup>. Theft of food was sometimes punished by death, and this was generally the penalty adopted in cases of theft by persons outside the tribe. The more usual punishment of members of the tribe was destruction of everything edible on the land of the family of the thief<sup>6</sup>. Gill also tells of a man who was speared to death

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Gill, *L.S.I.* pp. 47 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 90, 93.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 48 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 17.

and trampled in the mire in punishment for theft, and of a man who lined the banks of his fine *taro* patch with the bodies of thieves slain by his own hand; and adds that none of these murders was avenged<sup>1</sup>. This last statement suggests that the justice of the punishment was recognized by the friends of the thief. He also refers to a man who was accustomed to carry with him a piece of sharp flint for the purpose of ham-stringing thieves, and that he had killed more than ten of them<sup>2</sup>. The Rarotongan sorcerers had a method of destroying a thief by burning his spirit on a red-hot iron. If a person had been robbed and could not discover the thief, he would give a present to a sorcerer sufficient to pay for one or more ovens, according to the value of the article stolen. The sorcerer would then repair to his house; and in the darkness of the night would make a fire in a pit dug in a shed used for the purpose of the operation, and place upon it stones which became red hot. As the flames arose and the stones waxed hot he danced round the oven, uttering the most dreadful imprecations against the unknown thief; he even gave each of the gods a round of curses in order to excite their anger against the thief and cause them to bring his spirit to the oven. As the pile consumed, the sorcerer saw the spirit of the thief actually writhing upon the burning stones, and, perhaps to make certainty more certain, he thrust it through and through with his spear until it was presumably dead. This operation would sometimes, if the property stolen was valuable, or the anger of its possessors was very great, be repeated two or three times. It is stated that the terror inspired by these performances was so great that attempts would often be made to kill the sorcerer, and so break the spell, before he had completed his purpose, and sometimes the actual thief died of sheer fright<sup>3</sup>. This account does not show that any actual benefit, other than the pleasure of revenge, came to the sorcerer's employer, but perhaps knowledge of the proposed incantation sometimes made the thief confess and offer restoration rather than have his soul burnt, or die of fright.

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *L.S.J.* p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Gill, *Jottings*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Buzacott, pp. 55 59.



## MARQUESAS

The chiefs do not appear to have had any magisterial jurisdiction in the Marquesas, nor does there seem to have been any other judicial tribunal. Stewart says the title of *akaiki* was not accompanied by any privileges of jurisdiction; any man receiving an injury from another, instead of making complaint to the chief, at once resorted to the prowess of his own arm and took a lawless retribution<sup>1</sup>. Lisiansky tells us that he believed that with individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right was the law of strength; and there was no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate<sup>2</sup>. Krusenstern seems to imply the same thing<sup>3</sup>, Mathias says that the chiefs exercised little influence in matters of justice; the laws of taboo were all in all, and with regard to property, each individual had the right to avenge himself<sup>4</sup>. According to Jardin, independence was the characteristic of the Nukuhivan; he had no laws, nor regulations, nor what we call justice. If a native stole bananas or breadfruit, he was sufficiently punished by the shame of being known as a thief; it was only the taboo that imposed upon them moral obligations<sup>5</sup>. Melville found no sign of any administration of justice among the Taipii people<sup>6</sup>. He says that their independent electors were not to be brow-beaten by priests, chiefs, idols or devils<sup>7</sup>. He comments on the absence of any legal provisions for the well-being and conservation of society, adding that nevertheless everything went on there with the greatest smoothness, the people seeming to be governed by a sort of tacit common sense law<sup>8</sup>.

We have seen that, in case of murder, the family of the victim was generally not satisfied until the murderer, or a member of his family, was killed. Krusenstern says that in Nukuhiva stealing was not only not held to be a crime, but was regarded as a matter of merit in those who evinced adroitness<sup>9</sup>. This evidence must be compared with the statements above of Mathias, Jardin and Melville. Von Schleinitz (1879) says that theft was, according to the missionaries, as good as non-existent, as stealing was regarded as a great crime<sup>10</sup>. It is possible that confusion in the minds of writers has arisen in

<sup>1</sup> Stewart, vol. 1, pp. 240 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Krusenstern, vol. 1, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Jardin, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Melville, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> Krusenstern, vol. 1, p. 165.

<sup>6</sup> Lisiansky, pp. 80 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Mathias, pp. 104 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Melville, pp. 222 sq.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 222.

<sup>10</sup> Von Schleinitz, *V.G.E.* vol. vi, p. 364.



speaking of these questions through failure to distinguish between the restrictive influence of a sense of right and wrong and that produced by fear of the consequences of the breach of a taboo. According to Mathias, in case of theft, the injured man had the right to go to the house of the thief, if the latter were known, and to take back the article stolen, or, if it had disappeared, something amounting to two or three times its value, this being often done without a word. But in case of theft from a chief, the chief might kill the thief<sup>1</sup>.

### PAUMOTU

The only information I have found about the Paumotu is that in Mangareva the king governed, decreed the laws, and rendered justice<sup>2</sup>, and that in Bow Island murderers were killed and eaten<sup>3</sup>.

### NIUE

We have seen that the *fono* of Niue was, according to my interpretation of Smith's statements about it, a representative assembly of heads of families or *patu*, in which term I included the *iki* or chiefs and other *patu* who were not chiefs, and that decisions arrived at were, Smith thinks, the result of a consensus of opinion of the *fono*. I have also referred to Thomson's statements indicating that the *fono* was a law court as well as a parliament, but that in earlier days the only judicial tribunal had been the *pulangi tau* or council of war. Thomson says it was usual for a *fono* to try the accused when he happened to be out of the way<sup>4</sup>. There is a statement (1897) that the king of the island was chief justice, and invariably found the accused guilty and fined him and apparently took possession of the fine<sup>5</sup>, but if this is correct, he may only have done this as the powerful president of a *fono*. We may at all events believe that there was a definite consultative body of some sort which acted as a judicial tribunal. Thomson says that sometimes a man was allowed to swear his innocence on the bible, for perjury, so committed, weighed heavily on the conscience, and produced illness and consequent confession<sup>6</sup>. The use of a bible was of course modern, and the illness will have been so also if it was merely mental distress arising from Christian

<sup>1</sup> Mathias, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Beechey, vol. 1, p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> Sundotener, pp. 57 199.

<sup>4</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Thomson, *S.I.* p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. XXXI, p. 144.



teaching. If, however, the illness feared was some physical ailment, we are justified in suspecting that the method of taking the oath of the accused was a survival of pre-Christian practices.

In Niue, though the slaying of a potential enemy was a virtue, murder of a member of the tribe was punished by death. If the secret trial of the accused, conducted, as stated in a previous page, in his absence, ended in his conviction, some member of the court was told off to *afu* him—that was to win his confidence by open profession of friendship, and lead him into ambush where he was done to death by blows from behind<sup>1</sup>. Theft from a member of the tribe (but not from one of another tribe) was also regarded as a vice<sup>2</sup>; but Thomson does not tell us how it was punished. Smith gives an account of fighting arising from thefts from a ship of war in 1852, in which nine natives were killed. The guilty man escaped to shore; but we are told that his own people were so enraged with him that they sent him out in a small canoe, and he perished at sea<sup>3</sup>. The gravity of the offence in this case may have been that of involving the people in fighting with the crew of the warship; but Smith says elsewhere that they often got rid of a thief by sending him adrift in this way<sup>4</sup>.

### ROTUMA

In Rotuma disputes about land within the *hoang* were, according to Gardiner, decided by its *pure*, or head, or if he could not do so, by the *ngangaja*, or chief of the district, to whom also were referred disputes between individuals of different *hoang*<sup>5</sup>. It will be noticed that this information is only given in connection with disputes about land, but we cannot say whether the system of justice described was confined to them. Lesson says that chiefs administered justice<sup>6</sup>; and according to Goodenough, an offender was punished by a chief<sup>7</sup>. Gardiner says that offences were punished by fines of food or work given to or done for the injured party, or in case of an offence against a district, for the good of the district<sup>8</sup>. Relatively modern alternatives of fining or compensation have been reported from other islands also, and I can hardly think

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 104 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XII, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 430.

<sup>7</sup> Goodenough, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. XI, p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> Lesson, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 432.

<sup>8</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 430.

that in Rotuma punishment had always been of this character only.

#### FOTUNA

I find no information as to the administration of justice in Fotuna; but, according to Le Maire and Schouten (1616), after the people had made friends with the Dutch, one of them stole a sword. An attendant of the *ariki* brought back both the thief and the sword. The thief was beaten, and the Dutch were told that his head would have been cut off if the *ariki* had been told of the theft<sup>1</sup>.

#### UVEA

In Uvea there were no regular tribunals or systems of justice; the reason alleged being the power which the superiors had over the persons and property of their inferiors. The right was always with the strongest, so tribunals were useless. If people of the same rank had differences, they arranged them amicably or fought; if they were chiefs, it meant war. It was not in the interest of the common people to quarrel, for they knew that the first chief who happened to come along would settle matters by appropriating to himself the object of litigation<sup>2</sup>.

#### TOKELAU

In the Tokelau island of Fakaofu disputes were settled by a judge known as the *palapalau*, who pronounced judgment after consultation with the king and the *taulaitu* (priests). Punishments were generally mild, the offender being set to make a certain length of rope or a number of fish-hooks for the king. Death by strangling was, however, sometimes inflicted, as for stealing food in time of scarcity<sup>3</sup>.

#### ELLICE ISLANDS

In Funafuti, of the Ellice group, any dispute about land was, according to Mrs David, settled by the king in a big palaver<sup>4</sup>. Whitmee says of the group generally that ordinary disputes were settled by the authority of the king or chiefs<sup>5</sup>.

There are scraps of information as to modes of punishment employed on one or other of the Ellice islands, and I propose

<sup>1</sup> Burney, vol. II, p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. XXI, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Whitmee, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Bourdin, p. 500 *note*.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs David, p. 188.



to collect them in one statement. Murder and adultery were punished by sending off the culprit alone out to sea in a canoe, to die or take his chance of drifting to another island, or sometimes, apparently, the canoe had holes bored in it<sup>1</sup>. Theft was punished in the same way or by banishment to one of the smaller islets<sup>2</sup>; stealing was also punished by ordering the culprit to make a double restitution<sup>3</sup>. Criminals were sometimes thrown into the lagoon with a stone round the neck<sup>4</sup>.

### EASTER ISLAND

In Easter Island disputes were, according to Thomson, settled by the king or chief without regard to law or justice, there was no code, and people avenged their own injuries<sup>5</sup>. Geiseler says there was no magistracy, the chiefs had no power, and the injured person had to see himself righted<sup>6</sup>. Every father of a family had a right to declare war, if he was injured, or his family or kin, and did not receive satisfaction<sup>7</sup>.

Thieves caught in the act might be beaten and knocked about, and the aggressor was allowed to offer no resistance in trying to escape, although he might be larger and more powerful than the other; the person plundered had to prove the theft beyond question, and he was then at liberty to recover the value of the loss from any available property belonging to the robber, and in the event of the full value not being recovered, he could destroy property of the offender to equalize the amount. Retaliation for theft could thus be enforced by the weak against the strong, and any resistance would call the entire community to the aid of the former<sup>8</sup>.

### MANIHIKI

Moss is evidently speaking of modern times, when Manihiki was under white government, when he says that both legislative and executive authority were vested in the "*turimen*" or members of parliament, elected yearly by the heads of households. These *turimen* declared the law, sat as judges, and acted as policemen. No formal trial took place. Information was ob-

<sup>1</sup> Turner, pp. 281, 286.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, pp. 282, 286, 290. Hedley, pp. 23, 60. Mrs David, pp. 184 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> Hedley, p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> W. J. Thomson, p. 473.

<sup>6</sup> Geiseler, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> W. J. Thomson, p. 465. Cf. Geiseler, p. 28.

tained as best it could be, and the culprit was made to pay fines, of which half went to the king and the other half to the *turimen*<sup>1</sup>. I cannot expound the word "turimen"; it looks suspiciously like "jurymen," but, setting this aside, the system of trial by a body composed of persons elected by heads of households may have been similar to that of trial by *fono* in Samoa, and may have been a native system, or a development of one. Turner says that for stealing, private vengeance, even to death, was allowed<sup>2</sup>.

#### SIKIANA

It is said that in Sikiana murderers were hanged<sup>3</sup>.

#### BUKABUKA

In Bukabuka anyone caught stealing food was bound hand and foot, a large stone tied to his feet, taken out to sea in a canoe, and then thrown overboard<sup>4</sup>.

#### TIKOPIA

Tikopia was, according to Dillon, governed by one principal chief, with several petty ones, who acted as magistrates; in case of theft, the culprit, if caught, was carried to one of the chiefs<sup>5</sup>. Rivers was told that the chiefs were apparently definitely the rulers of the island, and had the deciding voice in social disputes; and they settled the nature of the punishments to be inflicted for breach of customs of the island<sup>6</sup>.

The punishment for theft was, it is said, forfeiture of the thief's property and land to the person robbed<sup>7</sup>. For severe offences the penalty was death, occasionally by hanging, or possibly strangling; but more commonly by sending the offender out to sea; if a man, in a canoe; if a woman, by making her swim from the shore. The chief offence for which men were sent adrift in this way was that of intrigue by the offender, being one of the ordinary people, with the daughter of a chief<sup>8</sup>.

#### NEW HEBRIDES ISLANDS

In the New Hebrides island of Futuna a thief was discovered by placing a coconut-shell drinking vessel on the ground, and

<sup>1</sup> Moss, pp. 110 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Quiros, vol. II, p. 500.

<sup>3</sup> Dillon, vol. II, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> Dillon, vol. II, p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> Turner, p. 278.

<sup>6</sup> Gill, *L.S.J.* p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 306.

<sup>8</sup> Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 306.



turning it round with a stick inserted in the opening. As the performer turned round the vessel he named quickly the accused persons; a shell placed on the top of the stick would adhere to the coconut, and the man whose name was pronounced when this occurred was deemed to be guilty<sup>1</sup>. In Aneiteum a tribal council of the head men of each village or hamlet under the jurisdiction of each high chief discussed all infractions of tribal law. The culprit was punished by having his arms bound and being left for several hours to the public gaze and other ways; "but in heathen days club law was the rule rather than the exception"<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gunn, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> J. Lawrie, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 710.

## CHAPTER XXX

### THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE SACRED AND SECULAR OFFICES

IN my concluding observations upon parts of the evidence appearing in the chapters on "Political Areas and Systems" I made some comments upon the system of dual kingship, sacred and secular, found in some of the islands. I must now point out that, though the sanctity of what I have called the sacred kings was peculiarly great, sanctity was not confined to them; the Polynesian chiefs as a class, claimed and were accorded an inherent element of sanctity, the more important of them being in some islands credited with actual divinity or something closely approaching it. This is a subject with which I shall deal in a later chapter; but the fact must be borne in mind in the present discussion.

The subject matter of this chapter is the connection, disclosed by the evidence of writers, between the sacred and secular offices, that is, between the religious duties that were commonly performed by priests and the civil rule of chiefs and others, including certain people of lower rank. So far as the chiefs are concerned, a word of caution is needed. There can be no doubt that in many, at all events, of the islands the chiefs did engage largely in religious acts and ceremonies. Many of them were in fact, as we shall see, priests also; and it is probable that writers often refer to people as chiefs who were really priests, and *vice versa*, whilst in a number of cases they were probably both. In some cases, however, the secular duties of the persons referred to are obvious, or may be inferred; and I think that, when a writer draws attention to, say, the religious duties performed by a chief, we may believe that the person to whom he refers was probably a secular ruler over a group of people.

I shall have to refer from time to time, in discussing the evidence, to different classes of priests, using the term class, not as applying to relative grades of rank and duty, but with reference to the basis and character of the priests' tenure of



office. For this purpose I shall adopt a defined working terminology, which, I think, will be sufficient for my broad purpose, though it is neither exact nor complete—indeed I have not the materials for making it so. The term “natural priests” will be used to designate heads of families, or other social groups, great or small, who by virtue of their headships were, I think, the natural priests of those groups, though the evidence may not always show that they acted as such. I shall apply the term “official priests” to persons appointed by, and acting officially on behalf of chiefs, in performing priestly duties in connection with the affairs of the groups of which those chiefs were the heads. “Hereditary priests” will be used for priests who acted officially on behalf of groups, not confined to their own families, though those families would probably be sections of the groups, and who appear to have held their priestly office, not by personal appointment, but by succession from their ancestors. It is, I think, probable that most or many of these hereditary priesthoods had originated in appointments in the past of “official priests,” the offices having continued afterwards in their families. “General priests” will be the term used for unofficial priests, not coming within any of the above categories; many of these were probably hereditary, at all events in the sense that the power of a father would be believed to be transmitted—say to his son. Corresponding terms may be used sometimes, substituting the word “priesthood” for “priests.”

I propose in the first place to refer to evidence which shows that chiefs and other heads of social groups, great and small, the secular rulers of the groups, did in fact perform the functions of priests of their groups; and as to this I may point out that, whilst the general meaning of the Polynesian word *pure* and its equivalents was “prayer” or the act of “praying,” *pule* (its equivalent in Samoa) meant, according to Pratt’s dictionary, “a command,” “authority,” and the act of “commanding,” and *bule* (its equivalent in Tonga) meant, according to Baker’s dictionary, “reign,” “a governor,” “to govern,” “to exact”; I do not think this double meaning of the same word has been merely accidental.

I will begin with what I may call head chiefs or kings, excluding the “sacred kings” to whom I have been referring above. It is stated that in Samoa the *tuimamú’a* was the priest of the gods<sup>1</sup>, but I have found no corresponding statement as

<sup>1</sup> R.S.N.S.W. vol. xxv, p. 133.



to any of the other Samoan kings. In Tahiti, according to Ellis, the highest civil and sacerdotal offices were united in one person. The king was generally chief priest of the national temple, and on many occasions of worship he was the representative of the god<sup>1</sup>. He shared with the god the authority over mankind; he sometimes personated the god and received the homage and requests presented to the deity; he also officiated as the head of his people in rendering their acknowledgments to the gods<sup>2</sup>. The head chief of the district of Papara [who, as such, was the head or king of all the Teva groups] was the high priest in his own district of Papara<sup>3</sup>. Turnbull says that Pomare I was a high priest<sup>4</sup>. The London missionaries, after describing the method of discovering a thief by divination—the priest standing over a pool of water and praying to the god to bring the thief's spirit to its reflecting surface—to which I have already referred, say that it does not appear that every priest could do it, and refer to the performance of the ceremony by Tu [Pomare II], who was priest as well as king<sup>5</sup>. Prior to the expedition to Attahuru, to secure the image of the great god Oro in the *marae* there, Tu, in a small canoe, was drawn by his people, walking in the water, and as this was done, Tu harangued the people and prayed to the gods<sup>6</sup>; and we have already seen that, when the party reached Attahuru, it being feared that Oro would be angry at the treatment of his image, sacrifices of pigs and human victims were presented to him, and prayers and chants were offered by Tu and the priests at the *marae*. We are also told of the taking of human victims in canoes, of which one had in it the ark of Oro, and of the explanation given that when Pomare or Mannemanne [the great high priest] prayed Oro entered this ark and was there seen by them<sup>7</sup>; and of military operations in Ra'iatea, in which Pomare I and Tu helped the Ra'iateans, and both of them went to Pare to pray for success<sup>8</sup>. Tyerman and Bennet say that the king of the island of Ra'iatea [where was the great old *marae* of Oro] was the hereditary high priest of Oro, as well as an independent deity himself<sup>9</sup>. They also say that the king of Borabora was a great sorcerer, and tell of his use of a charm by which he killed a subject who had disobeyed him<sup>10</sup>. Mariner,

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 57; cf. vol. I, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. I, pp. 143 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 530.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> Turnbull, pp. 330, 343.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 222.

<sup>9</sup> L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. I, p. 175.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 319 sq.



after saying that he does not remember any Tongan chief that was a priest, tells us that he had seen Finau inspired by the god Tali-y-tubo, who never inspired anybody but the king; but adds that he was not on this account regarded as a priest, those only being considered as such who were frequently inspired by some particular god<sup>1</sup>. Now Tali-y-tubo is described by him as the patron of the *hau* or king and his family, not of Finau in particular, who was the present king, but of any one who might be king. He was also god of war, and so was always invoked in time of war by the *hau's* party; in time of peace also he was occasionally invoked for the general good of the nation<sup>2</sup>. The *hau*, or secular king of Tonga, was not Finau, whose rule only extended over the northern islands, but was the *tuikanokubolu* for the time being. Therefore, I think, Tali-y-tubu was probably the tutelar god of the Kanokubolu family, or of Finau's branch of it, and that it would be as such that he worshipped this deity, as he (Finau) was in fact a member of that family. Finau would do this, not as head of the whole family, but as the head—the natural priest—of his own branch of it. It would be in this capacity that Finau was inspired by this god—that is, when he approached the god, and learnt his wishes or intentions; and he would do this as priest of his own people, whose interests he would identify with those of himself as their head chief. Mariner's reference to frequent inspiration as a qualification for the priesthood probably arises from the fact that the priests of minor or local gods would often be inspired by them, whilst in Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, national supplications would be more rare. Home says that the king of Tonga [George] was its chief priest<sup>3</sup>. In the island of Mangaia there were, as we have seen, a number of separate "tribes" or "clans," as Gill calls them, each with its own traditional origin, which I have regarded as having been separate social groups. The sacred chief or king of the whole island was the high priest of the national god Rongo, and as such was the high priest of the nation; but Gill says he was also regarded as being the high priest of all the gods<sup>4</sup>, which would make the national character of his priesthood even more marked. Each of these clans or groups would, however, have its own head chief. It is, I think, in the light of these factors that we must read Gill's statement that "priesthood

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Home, p. 637.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 104 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Gill, *Myths*, p. 38.



and chieftainship of a clan went together, and generally went to the eldest son"<sup>1</sup>. He is, of course, referring to succession, but his statement implies that the chief of a clan was also its priest. Gill says that, prior to battle, the warrior chief sometimes deposited in his own *marae* two shells, intended to represent the two hostile camps, with an appropriate prayer, and the appearance of these shells the next morning was an omen of the result of the fighting<sup>2</sup>. This practice would, I gather, be adopted by the heads of these great clans, and perhaps by minor chiefs also. As regards the island of Rarotonga, we have seen that, according to one of the versions of the story of the meeting of Karika and Tangiia, the latter, in making his submission to Karika, presented him with the emblems of authority, both civil and religious. The interest of this, as affecting our present subject, is not affected by the fact that it is a mere tradition, the details, at all events, of which cannot be relied upon for a moment; it may be taken as representing the ideas and customs of the people concerning sacred and secular rule, and, I think, justifies the belief that the head chief or king was also the head priest. Moss says of the system of this island that the heathen church and state were practically one, and that sometimes the *ariki* himself would be the priest<sup>3</sup>. It is evident from the context<sup>4</sup> that he is using the term *ariki* to designate the head chief of any one of the three great groups—Makea (Karika), Tangiia and Tinomana—of the island. I have told the story of Taruia, the *ariki* of the Hervey Island of Aitutaki, of the trick by which the later comer Ruatapu succeeded in getting him off the island and usurping his place, and of the subsequent arrival of his descendant Urirau to claim his ancestral throne, and the test to which he was put. He was taken to the *marae* of the great god Rongo, and had to recite his incantations and prayers, upon which the living sacrifices fell dead. Ruatapu had evidently been trying to do this and failed, so Urirau's claim was recognized, and he was established as divider of food, priest and protector of Avarua, the home of the kings of Aitutaki. This again is only a story, but it indicates the system under which the king of the island was also an important priest. Porter tells of the custom for the head chief of one of the Nukuhivan (Marquesas) tribes, along with his sons, prior to a turtle-fishing expedition, to pray to the gods and sing for several

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *L.S.J.* pp. 46 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.



days and nights previously, and of the chief's explanation that this was necessary for success, and that during this period of prayer he would be taboo, and dare not enter a house frequented by women<sup>1</sup>. This was evidently, at all events in origin, a religious ceremony, though from Porter's description of their behaviour, it does not seem to have been at his time a solemn one, and I think the head chief probably acted as a sort of head priest in its performance. We are told that the head chief of another valley of Nukuhiva was also its first priest, and there was a *marae* where this chief carried on his ceremonies, and human victims were killed, roasted and eaten<sup>2</sup>. The king of the Paumotuian island of Mangareva, regarded as an almost supernatural being, was given the title of god in his lifetime, but we are not told that he acted as priest<sup>3</sup>; Montiton says, however, that in the Paumotuian islands the *ariki* or king was also spoken of as *poure* (praying), because he often united the two powers<sup>4</sup>, and Audran says that the *ariki* of the island of Takaroa, and proprietor of the chief *marae* there, was not only king but chief priest also<sup>5</sup>. According to Martin, in the Austral island of Rurutu, the king and pastor, the spiritual and temporal sovereign, were one<sup>6</sup>. Turner says that the kings of the island of Niue were the high priests also, and were supposed to cause the food to grow<sup>7</sup>. Smith says that, while the *taula-atua* or priests of Niue acted in a sacerdotal capacity, it was clear that the *patu-iki* or king had certain duties of a similar character which, in the absence of one [*sic*], it is natural to suppose must have been performed by the higher priests. He witnessed the performance of an ancient ceremonial custom in which the king took part, and acted in what may be called the chief priest's office, and from Smith's very brief description of the ceremony, at which some seven or eight hundred people were present, I find that it was the king who recited a long incantation, the chiefs joining in certain parts, whilst every now and then all heads bowed down towards the centre of the circle<sup>8</sup>. From this description it seems probable that the performance was more or less religious in character. I gather from what Smith says elsewhere that the *patu-iki* had charge of the symbol of the

<sup>1</sup> Porter, vol. II, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Von Schleinitz, *V.G.E.* vol. VI, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Montiton, vol. VI, p. 378.

<sup>5</sup> Audran, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Martin, p. 210.

<sup>7</sup> Turner, p. 304. The belief that a head chief or king could control the growth of the crops is found in other islands also.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 198.



god Tangaroa; and that the *alanga-vaka*, a kind of prime minister, would go to him to obtain information, which apparently would be imparted to him by the god<sup>1</sup>. The people of Fotuna believed that their gods dwelt in the persons of certain privileged men, and that their leading god took up his abode in the king<sup>2</sup>, and it appears that the king was the high priest of this deity. Mangeret says that he spoke in the name of the god<sup>3</sup>, and refers to an occasion when he was agitated for a long time by extraordinary movements which were attributed to the god<sup>4</sup>. According to Smith, he and the priests offered the human victims in sacrifice and made orations<sup>5</sup>. According to Bourdin, the king was high priest, and it was in that character alone that he had power to order human sacrifice<sup>6</sup>. Bourdin also says it was believed that the king was the tabernacle of this god, and so had divine wisdom in handling affairs, the god speaking by his voice and acting through his arm<sup>7</sup>; and Bourdin gives an instance of a great feast in which the king, as spokesman of the god, foretold [wrongly] the weather, the audience listening to him with religious respect<sup>8</sup>. In an account of proceedings relating to a declaration of war, we are told that the king and priests not only harangued the people, but made offerings of kava and a spear to the gods, these being deposited at the foot of a sacred stone<sup>9</sup>. In the island of Fakaofu (Tokelau group) the king was, according to Turner, high priest also<sup>10</sup>; this is also stated by Bird<sup>11</sup>. Turner says that in the island of Manahiki the king was high priest<sup>12</sup>, and this seems to be suggested by Moss also<sup>13</sup>. The leading chief of Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) seems to have been also its high priest<sup>14</sup>.

It will be noticed that, in giving these examples of head chiefs or kings acting as priests, I have said nothing about Samoa beyond the solitary reference to the *tuimanu'a*. This group does not, in fact, appear to furnish any other definite recorded examples of this practice, though we have Turner's statement that in Samoa an aged chief, or a chief of high rank, would be asked not to go with the people to war, but to remain in the village and help them with his prayers<sup>15</sup>. I must, however,

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. xi, pp. 175 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xiii, p. 378; vol. xv, p. 37. Grézel, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Mangeret, vol. i, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. i, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 453.

<sup>6</sup> *J.P.S.* vol. i, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Bird, *Ausland*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 418 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Moss, p. 110. <sup>9</sup> Lamont, p. 122. <sup>10</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 273.

<sup>6</sup> Bourdin, p. 443.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 439 sq.

<sup>10</sup> Turner, p. 268.

<sup>12</sup> Turner, pp. 278 sq.



in connection with this matter, draw attention to the great Samoan orator chiefs, the *alataua*, and the *alataua* and *ituau* village districts, of which I have given some particulars under the heading of "Political Areas and Systems," and which I have discussed in my observations on this subject in relation to Polynesia generally. In this discussion I was looking at the subject of the *alataua* and *alataua* districts from the point of view of the separation of sacred and secular duties, as seen in some islands, in their institutions of sacred and secular kingship. I now point out the possible bearing of the evidence upon the question of the priestly offices performed by a head chief. These two aspects of the matter overlap one another somewhat; but it must be remembered that, just as in all probability the sacred chiefs had in origin been head chiefs of entire groups, who, as such, had acted as and in fact had been, their high priests, so also the *tuiavana* and the *tuiatua* were the head chiefs or kings of Aana and Atua. It is needless for me to repeat here what I have already said about the *alataua* districts; but I refer to the fact that in Aana and Atua the duties of praying village districts were performed by the governmental centres and royal homes of the two divisions and to the indications that possibly their special religious duties were confined to the portions of those village districts occupied by the *tuiavana* and the *tuiatua* respectively, so that the sacred offices may perhaps have been performed by or in the names of these kings, acting as high priests of their people.

I have been dealing up to this point with the evidence pointing to the performance of priestly duties by what I have called head chiefs or kings; and I say that I think that they were, in this, acting as the natural priests of the large groups, fundamentally social, of which they were the official heads.

I will now turn to the performance of priestly duties by chiefs generally, and by what writers call heads of families. There is, I think, no defined line of distinction between men who should be called head chiefs and chiefs respectively, nor between chiefs and what may be regarded as heads of middle class and other families. I place them all in the same category as the official heads of their respective social groups. I shall confine myself for the present to the cases of such of these official heads as seem to have performed their sacred duties in their capacity as heads, and therefore, as I construe the matter; as the natural priests of their people, though we cannot always,



in reading the evidence, distinguish with exactitude between one class of priests and another. I shall quote confirmatory statements by different writers separately, instead of quoting one and referring to others, in order to secure their cumulative value, as I regard the idea of the head of the social group as being one of the fundamental features of the social, religious and political systems of Polynesia, and therefore of great importance.

Turner says that in Samoa the father of the family was the high priest; he usually offered prayer at the evening meal, and would sometimes direct the holding, in honour of the household god, of a family feast, at which kava was poured out as a drink offering to the god<sup>1</sup>. He says that the priests were sometimes the chiefs of the place; generally some one in a particular family claimed the privilege and professed to declare the will of the god. He fixed the days for the annual feasts in honour of the deity, received the offerings, and thanked the people for them, and decided whether or not the people might go to war. His office was hereditary<sup>2</sup>. Stair says that the post of priest of a family was sometimes held by the head of the family or his sister<sup>3</sup>. According to Brown, some individuals often combined the offices of both priest and chief. In some districts the priesthood continued in particular families, the head of which always exercised the power of priest<sup>4</sup>. Pritchard says that the head of every family was, *ex officio*, a priest, besides those specially dedicated to the sacred office<sup>5</sup>. Though the chief was frequently the officiating priest, there was in every town a man who was the special priest of the god, and through whom the people received the revelations of his will. He conveyed to them the permission or the refusal of the god to go to war. He appointed feast days in honour of the god, and presented the offerings of the people. His office was hereditary in his family, passing to a nephew, perhaps more frequently than to a son<sup>6</sup>. Ella says the office of *taulaitu* [priest] was hereditary, and belonged to chiefs in some cases, and he refers to its being also held by people of mental or physical peculiarity<sup>7</sup>. He also refers to *ali'i paia*, or sacred chiefs, and says they were probably so called on account of their holding the office of priesthood, as well as the chieftainship<sup>8</sup>. According to von Bülow, the pos-

<sup>1</sup> Turner, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Stair, p. 222. I have discussed the reference to the sister in considering matrilineal descent.

<sup>4</sup> Brown, p. 228.

<sup>5</sup> Pritchard, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. iv, p. 638.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vi, pp. 596 sq.



essor of the title was by custom sacred, and was regarded within the family as the representative of the deity<sup>1</sup>. Every head of a family was priest of his family, and every chief was priest of his clan (*Sippe*); but most of the priests were *tufunga*<sup>2</sup>. Graeffe says that the Samoans had priests indeed, but each father of a family and each chief likewise performed the office of priest in his own house<sup>3</sup>. Several writers refer to the deadly power of a curse pronounced by a father against his child<sup>4</sup>; the father would be the official head of his family, and this power of cursing rested specially with priests and sorcerers.

This evidence, I think, supports the supposition that although there were in Samoa, as elsewhere in Polynesia, various classes of priests, the head of a social group, great or small, was its natural priest. The statements by Turner and Brown as to particular families may probably be interpreted as referring to the case of a group of people composed of a number of sub-groups, in which the head of each sub-group would be its natural priest, whilst the natural priest of the whole group would be the head for the time being of the head family that bore the title or name of the group. Pritchard's "specially dedicated" priests and "special priest of the god" were probably official or hereditary; Ella's people of mental or physical peculiarity may very likely have been general priests, and his *ali'i paia* were the very high chiefs, including those whom I have spoken of as kings. I suspect that von Bülow's *tufunga* [skilled persons] were general priests.

The bearing of all this evidence upon the question of the connection between the sacred and secular offices is obvious. We have already seen that in Samoa the persons who took part in the *fono* of the groups, great or small, at which were discussed all the affairs of the groups, and which acted as courts of justice, were the heads of families—the bearers of the family titles or names; and now we find that these selfsame persons were the natural priests of their respective families.

Mariner says that he recollects no Tongan chief that was a priest<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, king Finau was, as we have seen, sometimes inspired, and I have already considered this fact. Then again he says that the priests generally belonged to the

<sup>1</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. XI, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Graeffe, *M.G.G.* Hamburg, 1887-8, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Pratt's dictionary, p. 146 (under heading *manamatua*). Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 430; vol. II, pp. 58 sq. Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, p. 201. Stuebel, vol. IV, p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 128.



lower order of chiefs, or to the *matabule*, though sometimes great chiefs were thus visited by the gods<sup>1</sup>. He also tells of a god Tui-fua-bulotu who was often invoked by the heads of great families, as the king [Finau] and other great nobles, on occasions of sickness, or other family troubles<sup>2</sup>. I think that Mariner, in saying he did not remember seeing a chief that was a priest, must have been referring to those other than natural priests; as regards the examples given, I draw attention to his use of the expression "heads of great families," which I interpret as pointing to natural priests. The lower chiefs and *matabule*, even if natural priests to their own families, would, I think, as referred to by him, be official or hereditary priests; and I shall say something about them presently. I have already referred, in discussing the priesthood, to the important ecclesiastical dignity, called by d'Urville the *lavaka*, who apparently was the chief of an important family of that name. Bays tells of Oheela, a great chief of the district of Hihifo [in Tongatabu], the place of residence of his forefathers, treated by the people of the district with the visible forms of reverential respect offered to great chiefs<sup>3</sup>. He says of this man that he was one of Tonga's principal priests, whose demands none dared to refuse<sup>4</sup>. Dillon (1827) refers to a man named Tuckafinawa as having been both chief and high priest of Mafanga<sup>5</sup>; d'Urville (1827) speaks of an old *egui* [*eiki*, or chief, called by Mariner *egi*] Faka-fanoua, as the guardian of Mafanga<sup>6</sup>; and the missionaries (1799) mention Fackaanooa as the chief of Maffanga<sup>7</sup>. I think the differences in spelling may well be accounted for by the difficulty in spelling the sounds produced by Polynesian lips, and perhaps in part by printers' errors, and that these writers are all speaking of the same person. If so, we have corroborative testimony that he was the head chief of Mafanga, which, I may say, was a district of Tongatabu; and we have Dillon's statement that he was its high priest. There is a reference to a cavern in one of the westerly islands of Tonga which was visited by chiefs for the purpose of consulting the god supposed to reside there. It is possible that the chief Oheela was acting as the natural head priest of his own family or group; and if his power had spread beyond the district of his family, this might be accounted for by the formation, through inter-

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Bays, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Dillon, vol. I, p. 295.

<sup>4</sup> L.M.S. Trans. vol. I, p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 105 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 119.



marriages, of branch families outside that district. Faka-fanoua was probably the head chief and priest of his own people in his own district.

In the Society Islands, according to Ellis, whilst the king was sometimes the priest of the nation, in the family the father was the priest; and in the village or district the family of the priest was sacred, and his office was held by one who was a chief; the office of priesthood was hereditary in all its departments<sup>1</sup>. So again he says the *ra'atira* were often the priests in their own family temples; and that the priests in the national *marae*, except those allied by blood to the reigning families, were usually ranked with them<sup>2</sup>. I am inclined to put upon the first of these statements an interpretation similar to what I have placed upon those, relating to Samoa, of Turner and Brown. I suggest that the probable meaning is that the family was the sub-group whose father was its natural priest; and that the village or district was the group, and that its chief, who bore its name or title, was the natural priest of the group. I think his second statement may probably be interpreted in the same way. The *ra'atira* priests would be the heads of *ra'atira* family sub-groups, and the higher priests, "ranked with them," would be, say minor chiefs at the heads of the groups, not so very far removed from the *ra'atira* in rank. Hence the careful exclusion from the statement of the still greater priests of royal blood. De Bovis refers to certain religious rites being performed in the home when the head of the family thought fit<sup>3</sup>, and we may almost assume that he would be the person who performed the rites. Forster says the high priest of every island was always an *ari'i*<sup>4</sup>. The *Duff* missionaries say that all the chiefs officiated on some occasions, praying for their friends when sick, making offerings at the *marae*, and performing other religious ceremonies<sup>5</sup>. If we interpret the word "friends" as meaning the families or groups of which they were the heads, which we are, I think, entitled to do, this statement points to a natural priesthood. According to Turnbull, most of the great chiefs were priests<sup>6</sup>, and every chief was considered as having some supernatural agent<sup>7</sup>. Moerenhout says the highest priests always belonged to the high aristocracy<sup>8</sup>; and that the sacerdotal and administrative

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. I, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> De Bovis, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 343.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 154.

<sup>7</sup> Turnbull, p. 365.

<sup>8</sup> Moerenhout, vol. I, pp. 475 sq.



functions often united under the same head, thus giving the government the character of a veritable theocracy<sup>1</sup>. The priests of families, who worshipped the domestic deities (*oromatua*) were the fathers of the families<sup>2</sup>. Tyerman and Bennet speak of a man named Auna, who was a principal chief, and formerly a leader among the *areoi*, and who was also a priest of the god Hiro<sup>3</sup>; and I see that, according to Ellis, this man was the principal *areoi* of the island of Ra'iatea<sup>4</sup>. Missionaries, writing in 1813, refer to a chief of the island of Huahine, a principal *areoi*, who was also a priest<sup>5</sup>.

The only definite information I have found from the Hervey Islands is that the chief of the little island of Atiu was the priest of the god Taria-nui<sup>6</sup>. In Mangaia the prayers at the inauguration of a temporal king were performed by the sacred king; but at a certain point in the ceremonies, during the beating of the drum of peace, all the males of the kingly families joined in the singing; the anger of the gods would have been incurred if any but kingly voices had recited these *karakia* or prayers<sup>7</sup>. I do not know whether "kingly" families applies here to relations of the sacred king, or to those of the secular king, or to both; but in any case it is evident that these prayers might only be repeated by what must have been persons of high rank. In Nukuhiva, of the Marquesan group, the chiefs were, according to Mathias, always in agreement with the priests and were often priests themselves<sup>8</sup>. Moerenhout says that in the Paumotuan island of Mangareva the chiefs seemed to be also their priests, combining political with religious power<sup>9</sup>; and there is a reference to chiefs of this island who were "priests of the images"<sup>10</sup>. An English sailor told the French that in Rotuma the chiefs performed the priestly offices at baptisms, marriages and funerals<sup>11</sup>; and it is said that if a man offended his chief, the latter could and would, it was thought, afflict the man's family with sickness unless he made immediate atonement<sup>12</sup>, and that certain *atua* or spirit chiefs attended the sick by supplications to the evil spirits to cease troubling them<sup>13</sup>. These *atua* would be, I think, the ghosts of departed chiefs. In Uvea some people brought their sick to some chief,

<sup>1</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> L.M.S. *Trans.* vol. IV, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Gill, *Myths*, pp. 295, 298.

<sup>5</sup> Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> Lesson, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 432.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 463, 283.

<sup>8</sup> Ellis, vol. I, pp. 233 sq.

<sup>9</sup> Williams, p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> Mathias, p. 47.

<sup>11</sup> A.P.F. vol. XIV, p. 222.

<sup>12</sup> *Roivings*, vol. I, pp. 165 sq. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 161.



"as if his authority made his intercession more agreeable to the god"<sup>1</sup>. Ngaara, the head chief of the Miru people of Easter Island, was evidently a magician, for we are told of his cursing a man, and so causing his death<sup>2</sup>. In Tikopia, according to one of Rivers's informants, when a man was ill, he was attended by a chief, who offered kava and prayed; and if he was not successful another chief was called in<sup>3</sup>.

The social and religious system that has been prominently in my mind so far has been that under which the priestly duties rested primarily with the secular head of a social group as its natural priest, the idea being that a chief at the head of a large or important group, a minor chief or other person at the head of a minor group, or the father of a family, was often regarded as its natural priest, and as such performed his sacred duties on behalf of the group or family of which he was head. So far as the great chiefs or kings are concerned, we may, I think, assume that it was so, as we can hardly conceive of these very important persons being mere general priests (using the terminology which I am adopting), whose religious offices were in no way connected with their positions as head chiefs or kings, and they could not have been what I am calling official or hereditary priests, appointed by, or acting as deputies to, some one else, and officiating for groups of which their own were merely branches. Then again, statements that a head or father of a family acted as its priest can only mean that he was its natural priest. As regards statements that chiefs as a class were commonly priests also, I recognize that some of them may have been so, merely as official or hereditary priests; but I think that the general evidence, and the way in which some of the statements are worded and may be construed, justify us in believing that many, and indeed most of them, were natural priests; that the sacred duties of a head chief or king, as such, and of the father or other head of a relatively small family, rested also with these heads of intermediate rank—that is, that they also acted as natural priests of the groups of which they were the heads. It would be curious also if a custom that prevailed with regard to the heads of the largest and smallest groups, did not apply to the intermediate groups also. I think the evidence is sufficient to justify us in believing that the head of a social group, large or small, the holder of its title or name, was recognized widely

<sup>1</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs Routledge, pp. 242 sq.



as its natural priest, and engaged, on behalf of that group, in the religious duties which his sacred office involved, though the extent to which this idea was both recognized and acted upon may well have varied in different parts of Polynesia; and I shall assume that this was so.

I now come to evidence as to certain priests, who appear to have belonged to the classes which I am calling official and hereditary priests. The following are the main points in connection with these people, as disclosed by the evidence, to which I draw attention. In one or two cases we are told that they were appointed by the chiefs to act as priests; some of them were themselves chiefs; in some cases their priestly offices had probably been for long past hereditary in their aristocratic families. We thus are able to carry a step further the development of the subject of the close association between the chiefs and the priesthood. In most cases we find an association between sacred and secular offices in the fact that these priests were themselves orators or secular officials.

I will first refer again, in connection with this matter, to those semi-divine orator chiefs, the *alatau* of Samoa. Three specific references to the *alatau* have been made in the discussion of the Samoan *fono*. I have spoken of Lio of Tuamasanga, who appears from his title of "the voice of the *alatau*" to have been perhaps the most important of the great divining orator chiefs of Tuamasanga, and who is said to have remained silent at the great *fono* of Tuamasanga, presumably receiving from the gods the inspiration which enabled him at a later stage to make a speech disclosing the divine wishes. I have also referred to the private religious *séance*, prior to the great *fono* of all Aana, of the *alatau* orator chiefs Ngalu and Lemana, who afterwards, apparently, attended the *fono* and imparted to the meeting the results of their silent deliberations; and I think that the great Tuamasangan chiefs, who, according to Churchward, obtained inspiration in the *fale-o-le-Fé'e*, may almost be assumed to have been *alatau*, though we are not told that they were so. All these men were, however, hereditary chiefs, and as such acted hereditarily as priests and orators. Lio took an important part in the great *fono* of Tuamasanga. Ngalu and Lemana evidently did the same in Aana; and, indeed, as members of the "House of the Nine" at Leulumoenga, they must have taken, or been qualified to take, a leading part in the great *fono* of Aana, held in Leulumoenga,



and in the *fono* of Leulumoenga, and they belonged to the groups who elected the *tuiaana*. Probably the persons referred to by Churchward also, like Lio, took part in the great *fono* of Tuamasanga. Each of these chiefs would have his own family or social group of which he was the official head, and would be the natural priest; but in performing his sacred and secular duties in matters relating to the affairs of all Tuamasanga or all Aana he would be acting not merely as head, and on behalf of his own group, but as a priest and an orator of the division, of which he was not the head—that is, he was what I am calling an hereditary priest, and was an hereditary orator.

Krämer says that Nafanua, the war goddess, entered into the body of the orator chief Auva'a at Falealupo<sup>1</sup>. Now Falealupo is, as we have seen, not one of the places mentioned by Krämer as an *alataua* district of the island of Savai'i; but on consideration of the statements by Fraser and von Bülow, which I have quoted in connection with that subject, we must, I think, believe that it was an *alataua* district of the great Tonumaipe'a family of Savai'i, of whom Nafanua was the divine ancestress and goddess of war, and that Auva'a was one of the *alataua* orator chiefs, who, as such, would, when not acting for his own people, be performing religious duties on behalf of the great family, with the holder of the Tonumaipe'a title at its head, of which his own family was only a branch. That is, as he was the hereditary holder of his family title, he was probably an hereditary priest; and he was an orator.

Safata was, as we have seen, the *alataua* district of Tuamasanga. The *alataua* council there was said to have been founded by Fata, the son of Ationge. At this council the members spoke in a recognized order of precedence. Two of these were the orator chiefs who controlled the Tamasoali'i title [one of the four titles required to qualify for kingship of all Samoa], and one of them, apparently the most important, was Lio of Siumu [referred to above]<sup>2</sup>, who was regarded as being possessed by the god Saolevao<sup>3</sup>, all of which would well explain the important position taken by him at a *fono* of all Tuamasanga. In these cases again these chiefs who acted as priests were also orators, acting in both capacities in the affairs of the groups—not their own only—of which they were priests.

It is worth while noticing that, according to the information given about these *alataua* orator chiefs, two belonged to the

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 23, 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 237.



group controlling the *tuiaana* title, and two of them were those who controlled one of the two Tuamasanga titles that had to be held by the *tafa'ifa*, or king of all Samoa (I cannot identify in this way Auva'a of Falealupo). I have already suggested that these *fale*- as they were called—the family groups controlling the titles of chiefs—must have been related to the families whose titles were in their hands, and intimated that I could prove this as regards some of them. I may, however, point out that, so far as these detailed particulars carry us, these great chief-orator-priests appear, at all events, to have been intimately connected with great royal families of Samoa.

I draw attention to a portion of the old Tangaroa-Manu'a legends to which I have referred in considering "Political Areas and Systems." Tae-o-Tangaroa, the first semi-human *tuimanu'a* had two sons, Fa'a-ea-nu'u, who was appointed by his father to be the first human *tuimanu'a*, and Ati-i-langi, appointed in effect to be his brother's chief priest. The seat of government of Manu'a appears, according to these traditions, to have been originally the village district of Fiti-uta, on one side of the island of Tau, and to have been transferred afterwards to the village district of Tau, on the other side; but Ati-i-langi, the orator, lived at Fiti-uta. The point to which I refer specially here is the mention of the practice, said to have had its origin in this appointment of Ati-i-langi as chief priest, for the chief or priest of Fiti-uta to sit cross-legged at *fono*, leaning on the handle of his fly-flapper, and thus offer prayer and make speeches. It seems clear that this man would be an important orator, and probably a *tulafale ali'i*, and that, as such, he acted as a priest, and also as an orator, not simply for his own family, but for Manu'a.

In the greetings at the *fono* of the village district of Faleata, in Tuamasanga, I find the first greeting, after that offered to Faleata itself, was given to the *tauaitu*<sup>1</sup>, a term that signifies that the persons so called belonged to, or were associated with, the gods or a god; and Krämer and Stuebel say that it referred to two orator families called Veletalua and Taliausolo<sup>2</sup>. Krämer says they were orator chiefs, and that it was they who had the power in their hands<sup>3</sup>. Stuebel refers to two sources of power in Faleata, of which one was four families called "the four," and the other was these *tauaitu*; he discusses the relative powers of these two groups, and says that, whilst authority over the

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Stuebel, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 227.



village district rested with the four families, the *tauaitu* decided questions of peace and war. He refers to an *aitu* house [a temple] in Lepea [one of the villages of Faleata] in which was an empty basket in which the *aitu* was supposed to dwell, and says that the *tauaitu* were called "the sons of the *aitu* house," and that they had intercourse with the *aitu*<sup>1</sup>. It is clear that we have here another example of great orator chiefs acting as hereditary priests, not merely for their own families but for a larger group.

I do not doubt that I could, by more prolonged search, find other examples of the same sort of thing; but I think those given above are sufficient for my purpose. Samoa thus provides examples of orator chiefs (*tulafale ali'i*), some of them, at all events, closely associated with the royal families of Aana and Tuamasanga, acting as hereditary priests of groups of which their own families would presumably be portions. There is no doubt, as regards some of them, that their sacred offices as priests, were, like their secular ranks as chiefs, hereditary, being vested in the titled heads for the time being of their respective families, and it is probable that this was the case with all of them. I think also it is probable that these priestly families were descended from what I am calling official priests, appointed long before, and that is why I referred to this point in explaining my working terminology.

The *matabule* of Tonga were, as we have seen, officials, counsellors and companions of, and honourable attendants on, the chiefs and they seem also to have been orators at *fono*; but Mariner says that they were also the persons who invoked such gods as had not priests of their own<sup>2</sup>. This religious duty is illustrated by Mariner's account of what took place on the illness of Finau's daughter. When she fell ill she was removed to the house of the god Tali-y-tubo, who had no priest. Pigs were killed and presented to the god every morning; and on these occasions—sometimes five, six or seven times a day—for about a fortnight one or other of the *matabule*, and sometimes two or three in succession, prayed to him to spare the life of the girl. These efforts failing, they renewed them at the house of another god. Then she was taken to the house of another god; and, though this god had a priest, who did the praying, the *matabule* were in constant consultation with him<sup>3</sup>. It is obvious that Mariner, in saying that the *matabule* invoked the gods that

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, pp. 104 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Mariner, vol. 1, p. 290. Cf. vol. II, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 288 sq.



had not priests, means that in doing so they were acting professionally as priests, not merely for the families of which they were heads; and it is clear that this was so on the occasion of the illness of Finau's daughter, when they would be acting on behalf of the king and his family. So they were either official or hereditary priests. Mahony, speaking of the little island of Niuatobutabu [one of the Tongan group], says that its hereditary chief was Maafu, and that in the waters around lived the familiar "demon," Sekatoa by name, of the family of Maafu, by which he presumably means that it was the family god. Any member of the family, and especially Maafu and his aged aunt, could call forth Sekatoa, who, if the performances for doing so were successful, ultimately appeared as a monster shark, and then acted "as a sort of Delphic oracle." The point of interest here is that all these efforts to secure the attention of Sekatoa, as described by Mahony, were made, not by Maafu or a member of his family personally, but by one of the two principal *matabule* of the island<sup>1</sup>. So here again they were acting as either official or hereditary priests. I must say, as regards these priestly offices, stated to have been performed by *matabule*, that there seems to have been some confusion in the minds of white observers between what they have called *matabule* and, say, minor chiefs. It does not matter, however, for our present purpose, into which of these two categories these people might more properly be placed, and I think the higher *matabule* were minor chiefs. It is clear, as regards the *matabule* themselves, that they performed officially both secular and sacred duties; and the latter were not merely those of what I am calling natural priests.

In the Society Islands the class of the priests was, according to Cook, numerous, and contained all ranks; but the principal priest was generally a younger member of a good family, and was respected in a degree next to the kings<sup>2</sup>. Tupia, who was queen Parea's prime minister<sup>3</sup>, was also, Cook says, chief priest of the island of Tahiti<sup>4</sup>; this would only, however, be so as regards the district of Papara, or perhaps all the Teva districts. According to J. R. Forster, each great chief or king chose from among the inferior chiefs an intelligent person, who was to be his priest, and whose business was to pray and offer up sacrifices, and perform the rites requisite for each occasion.

<sup>1</sup> Mahony, *J.P.S.* vol. XXIV, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Cook, vol. 1, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 169.



Each chief of a province had likewise a priest, and the inferior ranks of people had in the same manner peculiar priests, who could not perform rites and offer up prayers for men of a higher class<sup>1</sup>. I imagine that he means that the priest of a chief of a province, and perhaps of the inferior ranks, would, like that of a great chief or king, be a person selected for the purpose by the local chief or head. Moerenhout says the high priest was almost always a brother or near relative of the chief<sup>2</sup>. Ellis says that the high priesthood of the principal idols was usually held by some member or near relative of the reigning family<sup>3</sup>. The London missionaries mention Pomare's orator, who was a priest, and was also a *ra'atira* or under-chief in a neighbouring subdivision of the district<sup>4</sup>. According to Ari'i Taimai, the high priest of Papara was Manea, the younger brother of Amo [the head chief of Papara and of the Teva]<sup>5</sup>. De Bovis says the high priests belonged, almost without exception, to the highest princely families<sup>6</sup>; also that the priest was, in all that concerned his religious duties, only a delegate of the chief, and that, though the office tended to become hereditary, the chief could revoke it at any time<sup>7</sup>; and in speaking of the *oripo*, or *haerepo*, young men being brought up for the priesthood, he says their future rank as priests would be in proportion to their skill, and above all their birth, and that young men of this class had sometimes afterwards been kings<sup>8</sup>.

This Society Island evidence points to the relationship of head priests to the higher chiefs, and to the appointment by chiefs of persons who were to act as official priests, and to the tendency for the office thus created to become hereditary. The references to Pura's prime minister and Pomare's orator disclose a combination of secular and sacred duties.

Smith, in his account, to which I have referred in a previous page, of his visit to the famous Rarotongan *marae*, Arai-tetonga, of the Makea (Karika) kings of the island, refers to the stone seat of the *ariki* or king and to the stone seats of his great chiefs who sat facing him. Next to the king, on his right, also facing the others, was the seat of a priest. Next to this again, further to his right was the seat of the *ariki-tara-are* (also called *potiki-taua*), a priest, through whom the king used to

<sup>1</sup> Forster, *Obs.* pp. 545 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Moerenhout, vol. 1, p. 476.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> L.M.S. *Trans.* vol. 1, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 45. Cf. Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, p. 119 and note 1. This would be after the death of Tupia.

<sup>6</sup> De Bovis, p. 280.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 239.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 281.



declare his decision on any matter before him, and whose seat was therefore called *puera*, meaning to open or disclose. It seems evident that the priest was the king's official orator or mouthpiece<sup>1</sup>. Now this priest's title of *ariki* shows that he was probably a chief, and Smith ascertained that he was one of the two principal chiefs of the Makea clan<sup>2</sup>. So here we have an example of a king, attended by a priest, who was one of the two highest of the chiefs of the king's people, and who acted as the king's mouthpiece at council meetings held at his principal *marae*, and therefore performed both sacred and secular duties. He may have been either an official or an hereditary priest.

Mathias says that in the Marquesas nothing could be done in the political or religious sphere without the consent of the high priests, the gravest questions of state always having to be submitted to them<sup>3</sup>; and Tautain thinks the priesthood should be divided broadly into two classes, of which one, the real priests, belonged to noble families (*papa hakaiki*), whilst the other, the more numerous class, were really inspired persons<sup>4</sup>. The "inspired persons" were probably only what I am calling general priests.

In the Paumotuian island of Mangareva the chief priests—the only ones who performed public functions—were taken from the royal family, or from those of the highest rank; and an example of the association between these high personages is provided by the case of an order by the king to his son that he should become a priest, the doubts of the chief priest as to the young man's fitness, but his acceptance and ordination by the chief priest on the king's assurance<sup>5</sup>. There is, however, a curious statement by one of the French missionaries as to the "greatest influence" exercised by the *inferior* (my italics) priests over the people, that the king himself submitted to the yoke of their authority, and if he tried to shake it off, they threatened him with the anger of the gods<sup>6</sup>. This seems to involve an inconsistency, but there is no material by which it can be investigated. Possibly these inferior priests were general priests or sorcerers. In the Tokelau island of Fakaofu, the *taulaitu*—the priests chosen by the king—formed an upper class of society<sup>7</sup>. Graeffe was told that Nanomea, of the Ellice group, was ruled by two chiefs and seven priests<sup>8</sup>.

The evidence shows, I think, how closely connected, at all events in most of the islands, were the chiefs and others, as

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XII, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Mathias, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. XXI, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VII, p. 447.

<sup>6</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 335.

<sup>8</sup> Graeffe, *Ausland*, vol. XL, p. 1189.



secular rulers of the groups of people of whom they were the heads, and the systems of secular government of those groups, on the one hand, and the religious influence and control, including that of the priests, or a considerable number of them, on the other. I think, however, it is worth while to refer to statements by writers of their general views on the association between the sacred and secular influence and power. Thomson says that in Tonga the priests knew that the existence of their order depended upon the union of church and state, and that their oracular utterances...were always directed to upholding the privileges of the chiefs. Between the two orders there was a thorough understanding. The chief saw that the regular offerings to the spirits were not stinted; the priest, possessed by his god, retained sufficient self command to gasp prophecies in remarkable accordance with the chief's interest<sup>1</sup>. Ellis refers to the intimate connection in the Society Islands between the religion of the people and political despotism<sup>2</sup>. Chiefs and gods seem always to have exercised a combined influence over the people, and the power of the gods often seemed to be exercised only to establish the authority of the king<sup>3</sup>. According to Moerenhout, the high priest in the Society Islands was almost always a brother or near relative of the chief, in order that church might support the state, and often the government was purely theocratic<sup>4</sup>. Sacerdotal and administrative functions were often united under the same head, giving the government the character of a veritable theocracy; this always happened when a dead chief was replaced by a brother or near relative, already invested with priestly functions, and who, although now an *ari'i* or superior chief, still continued to preside over the most important religious ceremonies<sup>5</sup>. Tyerman and Bennet say that in the Society Islands the most formidable obstacle to the success of the missionaries was the apparently indissoluble union there of statecraft and priestcraft, the civil and ecclesiastical offices, if not lodged in the same individuals, being confined to those who were interested in upholding both. The king stood at the head of all the chiefs on the one hand, and of all the priests on the other; consequently these two bodies supported their common head, while he protected and aggrandized each in return, to secure his own ascendancy<sup>6</sup>. De Bovis, speaking of the priestly

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, *D.P.M.* pp. 200 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 10 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis, vol. I, p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 476.

<sup>6</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, pp. 120 sq.



caste of Tahiti, says that the priest was only an emanation of the power of the chief in what concerned religious ceremonies—simply a delegate<sup>1</sup>. Moss says that in Rarotonga the heathen church and state were practically one<sup>2</sup>. Mathias, after referring to the dominating power of the Marquesan priests in all political and religious matters, including the gravest matters of state, says that, as their influence might be too great, and counterbalance that of the chiefs, care was taken that they should always be chosen from the families of the latter. They knew how to maintain their common sovereignty, for the political authority blended with the sacerdotal, and the government thus became perfectly theocratic<sup>3</sup>. The two orders of power, political and religious, were at the same time united and separate. They were vested in separate persons, but these always acted for the common interest. Any marked division between the political authority of the chiefs and the religious authority of the priests was rarely seen<sup>4</sup>. The chiefs were always in agreement with the priests, and were often priests themselves<sup>5</sup>. In the island of Niue, according to Thomson, a perfect understanding existed between priests and petty chiefs, to their mutual advantage, for the chiefs could not afford to ignore the political influence of the priests, and the latter, knowing that a chief could invoke a god without their aid, realized that they were not indispensable<sup>6</sup>. Bourdin says of the island of Fotuna that royalty was essentially theocratic<sup>7</sup>.

I have not, in dealing with this subject, considered the case of what I have called general priests, though they have been mentioned incidentally here and there. They would include members of the class of sorcerers, whose supernatural duties were not usually based upon their religious headship of social groups, or their official performance of religious rites as delegates, direct or by inheritance, of the heads of groups. The general priests do not appear to form part of the chain connecting the sacred and secular offices, and so they do not come within the scope of the discussion. It seems probable that they would not, at all events as a rule, take part in the official ceremonies and observances at the *marae*; they were not, as priests, connected officially with secular rule; and many of them must, I think, have been merely independent diviners and people engaged in processes of magic. Some of them apparently were supposed

<sup>1</sup> De Bovis, p. 239; cf. p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Mathias, pp. 59 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Thomson, *S.J.* p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> Bourdin, p. 453.



to be inspired by certain specific gods, or other supernatural beings, whose priests they would perhaps become. Their religious reputations would, however, probably often be based mainly on the success of their past efforts, or of those of their fathers, or more remote ancestors, from whom it was supposed that they had inherited their supernatural powers. Any power they may have possessed of influencing purely secular affairs would be incidental, rather than official, so I do not think it necessary to discuss them at present, though I hope to do so at a future date in dealing with the subjects of inspiration, divination and cognate matters, including sorcery.

The numerous minor or sub-priests and attendants at the temples would form part of the organization arising from the appointment of official priests.

### OBSERVATIONS

We must, I think, believe that at one time the concentration in a head chief of sacred duties and secular rule was usual among the Polynesians or their ancestors, more or less remote; that the high priest was the head chief; and some of the islands offer, as we have seen, indications that this had been so. Presumably the foundation of his power was religious. Just as in Melanesia a man, according to Codrington, became a chief by virtue of the belief that he was possessed of *mana*<sup>1</sup> derived from a spirit; so in Polynesia, with its theism, his holding of his high office may well have been based upon a belief as to his supernatural powers derived from the gods, and his power of approaching the gods, learning their wishes and intentions, and assuaging their anger and securing their help by sacrifice and prayer.

I have already discussed the problem of the separation, partial or entire, of the sacred and secular rule, and need only refer here to the broad conclusion, which I have suggested, that probably it must be attributed to an original handing over by great chiefs to others, or the loss from some other cause, of their civil duties or a considerable part of them, whilst they themselves, still perhaps retaining some supervision over these things, devoted themselves more especially to the more important task of supplicating the gods and securing their guidance. In discussing this matter we were dealing with the question of an original process of evolution which, whatever its actual nature may have been, must have taken place long ago, and

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, p. 120.



very likely did not develop in the several islands or groups at the same period, or exactly in the same way; it is possible, as regards some islands, that the change had occurred before their people had reached those islands, and must be more or less connected with prior developments in other islands from which they had migrated. However this may have been, we must recognize that in all probability, between the time or times of these original evolutions and the periods when the islands came under the observation of white men, whose records we are studying, there was a lapse of time, to be measured probably in centuries, during which further changes and developments in the relative complexity of social, political and religious organization might be expected to occur; and the extent of these further developments is disclosed by the histories and traditions, and by the accounts given to us of the actual social, political and religious systems of the people of Polynesia in these more recent days. These had no doubt become still more complex; social groups had become still more enlarged, had spread out still further beyond the limits of their earlier homes, had migrated wholly or in part, had formed fresh outlying settlements and sub-settlements, and had become intermingled. The number of the chiefs must have multiplied immensely, and probably the functions and powers of the chiefs had developed and expanded. Political systems, some of them almost feudal in character, had come into being. Out of what I imagine to have been the relatively simple forms of secular government of the original groups had evolved the more intricate systems which the changed conditions required, and so far as some islands are concerned, we have seen how relatively elaborate these systems had become. These changed conditions would almost necessarily have their influence upon the religious organization of the people; and the subject which I have been considering is the connection between the sacred and secular offices, as disclosed by evidence, in these more recent times.

In my previous observations upon the sacred and secular kingships I suggested that the separation of these might be attributed to the handing over by the sacred kings of secular duties, or the loss by them of the latter from some other cause. Some of the evidence we are now considering relates to the delegation by chiefs to others of some of their sacred duties; but we have to bear in mind, in connection with this matter, the way in which the machinery of secular management also had doubtless become still further enlarged and more



complicated as the result of the more complex conditions that had developed. I think that in considering the matter we must not assume that in the changes which had taken place, presumably since the separation of the sacred and secular kingship, those relating to the sacred offices and to the secular offices respectively were entirely identical in origin; and to avoid misunderstanding I must again point out that, not only what I have called the sacred kings, but the secular kings also, and indeed the chiefs as a class, were more or less sacred, according to their rank, this sanctity having, as I interpret the matter, been due to their close association, as heads of their respective social groups, with the gods of those groups, of whom they, and indeed all heads of groups, down to the fathers of domestic families, seem to have been the natural priests.

The evidence to be introduced in a later chapter shows that in relatively recent periods, when the people came under the observation of white men, and indeed up to modern times, this sanctity was fully recognized, and it is desirable that we should bear in mind a possible difference between the religious systems that had developed, owing to the partial delegation by chiefs to others of some of their sacred duties, and the systems of secular government and management. The latter were, in some islands, more or less democratic and representative, as has been disclosed in the consideration of council meetings, and especially those of Samoa, the statements as to which (Samoa) disclose in detail a method of what I have called local self-government, which, I think, prevailed in some also of the other islands, each sub-group managing its own affairs, whilst the group of which it was a section had an over-riding jurisdiction—at all events in matters that affected the group as a whole.

The chiefs, as the natural priests of the groups of which they were the heads, had in some cases delegated portions of their religious duties to others, as indicated by statements as to the Society Islands (J. R. Forster and de Bovis), Fakaofu, and perhaps the Paumotu, and apparently by the Manu'an (Samoan) tradition, though in the case of Manu'a the belief was that the chief and priest were brothers, and in this and the Paumotuan case the appointment was made by their father. These delegates—what I have called official priests—would doubtless be under some control by the chiefs who had appointed them, and who would, as natural high priests, be their religious superior officials. The actual evidence of delegation of this character is, I admit, extremely small; but there is *some* evidence, and I ask



by what other process are we to account for the organized systems of priesthood found in some of the islands, bearing in mind that most of the priests associated with these systems were, as such, obviously merely departmental officials, and not what I am calling natural priests? I suggest that it is extremely probable that these systems had their origin in acts of delegation by chiefs, who were heads of groups sufficiently large to make assistance in the performance of the sacred offices necessary.

The nature of the hereditary priesthood is probably illustrated by what we are told of the *alataua* orator chiefs of Samoa. Their chieftainship was clearly hereditary, having passed by succession to the titular heads of their families, and I do not doubt that the priesthood passed in the same way to the same persons, as it is inconceivable to me that the sacred office should be given to any other than the successor to the title. The only actual indication that the origin of an hereditary priesthood might be an original appointment, as official priest, is found in de Bovis's statement as to the Society Islands and in the Manu'an tradition of the appointment by Tae-o-Tangaroa of one of his sons as *tuimanu'a* and of the other as priest to the former, and the fact that the sacred office of the chief of Fiti-uta was in modern days associated with this tradition; but I can think of no other way of accounting for the origin of the sacred offices of these *alataua* families.

If I am right in all this, it follows that the sacred functions of the chiefs, as the natural priests of the groups of which they were the official heads, remained vested in them to a large extent, though some of them were performed by other persons to whom, or to whose ancestors, the chiefs had delegated those functions.

The secular power and duties also still remained, to an extent, differing probably in different islands and districts, and at different times, in the chiefs of the groups, the duties being performed partly by themselves, and partly by officials acting, by personal or ancestral appointment, as their representatives, and by persons—probably often the same—who were their official mouthpieces, speaking on their behalf at council meetings. There was, however, in the secular government and management, of, at all events, some of the islands, what seems to have been an element of a totally different character. In these islands the persons who were entitled to take part in the deliberations at council meetings of groups, and who seem to have had,



in some cases, considerable power, included others, besides the head chiefs of the groups and their spokesmen. A large number—no doubt the bulk—of these people were in no way delegates of those chiefs; they were the official heads, some of them chiefs, and some members of the middle classes, of sections of the groups, each of them being an independent orator, acting as the representative and spokesman of his own section. We must, I think, seek for an origin of the right of these people to join in the deliberations quite distinct from that of delegation by superior persons; and the origin is perhaps found if we regard this right as a survival of the primitive system, notwithstanding the evolution of systems of chieftainship, of management of the affairs of a group by consultation among its members. Just as the head of a domestic or other small family group would consult with the other members of the group, so the head of a large group had to consult with the representatives of its constituent sections. It may have been a matter, partly no doubt of co-operation, but also of competition, between the religious power of the chief and the right of the members of a group to be consulted and take part in the discussion of its affairs.

I will now, in conclusion, try to summarize, shortly and broadly, what seem to be the main features of, and points in, the evidence, as affecting the question of the connection between the sacred and secular offices, admitting, however, that some of these features are disclosed by evidence obtained only in some of the islands.

Chiefs and other heads of social groups, and sections of social groups, were not only their secular heads, but were also their natural head priests, and it was their practice to act in this capacity, at all events in important matters.

There was, as we have seen in considering the priests, a numerous body of functionaries—high priests, priests and assistants—who performed religious duties, not merely as heads of their own respective groups, but as professional priests, acting in matters affecting larger groups, of which their own groups were probably sections.

There is some evidence pointing to the appointment by chiefs of priests, who would be what I have called official priests, and whose duties were not confined to matters affecting the groups of which they were the heads; they acted in the performance of these duties as delegates of the chiefs who appointed them, so there was a connection between their sacred offices and the



combined sacred and secular offices of the appointing chiefs. Probably many of the religious functionaries referred to above belonged to this class.

There were what I have called hereditary priests, of whom the great *alatau* orator chiefs of Samoa are a conspicuous example, and I think it is likely that some of the higher Tongan *matabule* who acted as priests came within this category. Their offices rested with certain families, and presumably passed by succession to the holders for the time being of the titles or names of those families; but, as in the case of the official priests, their duties were not confined to matters affecting those families. It is probable that they were descended from official priests, the original offices of the latter having passed down to later generations of the same families. If so, they also formed a connection, though not so direct, between their sacred offices and the combined sacred and secular offices of the chiefs whose ancestors had made the original appointments; and they also, or some of them, took part in the secular government of the groups for whom they acted as priests. Probably some of the religious functionaries referred to above belonged to this class.

The hereditary priests, and some, at all events, of the official priests, being the heads of their respective families, would be also the natural priests of those families; and would act as their heads in both sacred and secular matters.

Statements that the higher priests were related to chiefs, or members of high families, whether they were or were not, as I believe them to have been, either natural, hereditary or official priests, connect them with the chiefs as a class.

The independent orators, as I have called them, who took part in council meetings of groups, not as representatives of the chiefs of those groups, but as representatives of their own families, as sections of the groups, were the official heads of those families, for none but heads of families might do this<sup>1</sup>. So they also were secular rulers of their own families and took part on behalf of those families in the council meetings of the groups; and they were the natural priests of their own families.

Finally I refer to the general statements by writers as to the close association between the chiefs and the priests in the management and control of the affairs of the islands.

<sup>1</sup> There is, as we have seen, abundant evidence that it was so in Samoa; there are statements that it was so in Niue, Rotuma, Uvea, and Fakaofu (of the Tokelau group), and there is an indication that it was so in Tahiti. There can, I think, be little doubt that it was a universal or widespread rule in Polynesia.



## CHAPTER XXXI

### THE SANCTITY OF CHIEFS

#### PRELIMINARY

IN discussing the subject of the connection between the sacred and secular offices I introduced evidence which, I think, justifies us in coming to the conclusion that the chief or other head of a social group, great or small, was its natural priest. This means that he was the person who, as head of the group, would *ex officio* be the medium of communication between the people and their god or gods, the person who would, more than any of the other members of the group, be able to approach and hold intercourse with the gods, and especially, I imagine, the tutelar god of the group, who would enter into and inspire him. This close divine association would endow the head of a group with a degree of sanctity not possessed by its other members; and it almost follows that the head chief of a large group, the supplicant and mouthpiece of the great god of the group, would as a rule be specially sacred, as compared with a chief of a sub-group, and still more with the father or other head of a mere unimportant domestic family. It is therefore natural that we should find evidence of the great sanctity attributed to the chiefs, and especially the higher chiefs or kings, and this sanctity is the subject which I now propose to consider.

#### LONG ANCESTRIES AND DIVINE DESCENT

The first matter to which I draw attention is that of the long ancestries, some of them extending backwards to the distant mythical past, claimed by families of great chiefs or kings, and to the fact that some of these families were credited with distinguished divine descent. The evidence upon which these ideas were based consisted in some cases of long genealogies or of lists of previous great chiefs or kings; and the claims to divine ancestry rested sometimes upon definite traditions. I believe that, at all events in some of the islands, the Polynesians did preserve in a marvellous way both ancient legendary

traditions and relatively recent history; but, admitting this, we must regard a considerable portion of our material with a good deal of doubt, not merely as to its historical accuracy, the acceptance of which in some of the accounts of events of the distant past would be absurd, but also as to its correctness as a record of what had in fact been truly original traditions. I suspect that the great chiefs or kings, of admittedly ancient lineage, and the keepers of their family traditions, had a convenient practice of sometimes extending the lengths of the pedigrees or lists of predecessors, and of introducing into them the names of ancient well-known gods; and these additions would thus become parts of the traditions, which would pass down, as amended, to future generations of people, the bulk of whom would have neither means of checking their accuracy nor reasons for doubting it; whilst the members for the time being of the great families to whose ancestors, or alleged ancestors, the traditions referred would have every reason for insisting upon their correctness, and a very large number of them would probably believe that the traditions were true. So far as our present subject is concerned, I think the question is not whether these traditions were correct, it is whether they were believed to be correct, or so far accepted as to provide bases upon which the claims of the great chiefs to personal sanctity could rest and be acknowledged by their people, or the general body of them. I have referred to both lists and genealogies. In some cases I shall have to draw attention to what are in form genealogical tables, showing alleged relationships between successive holders of the titles, or the ancestry of the most recent holder, whilst others are obviously mere lists; and we can only regard as mere lists the portions, appearing in genealogical form, that relate to the distant mythical past. But, as to this matter also, we are, I think, concerned with beliefs rather than with actual facts; I imagine also that, even in cases in which ancestry is not disclosed by the lists, we may almost assume that it would often be claimed by the chiefs, and recognized by the people, so the difference, for our present purpose, between the two forms of record is not necessarily material. I shall from time to time refer to "generations"; but it must be understood that I only do this for the sake of shortness, without implying that each successive name in a list or genealogy necessarily represented another generation.



Another matter to which I must draw attention as regards the question of claims to divine ancestry is that a cult of the dead seems to have been a prominent feature in the religions of Polynesia. It is obvious that with this cult the families of the great chiefs or kings, and any other chief families whose position was such that their dead would or might be of sufficient importance to be recognized as what we may call gods<sup>1</sup>, would be able to point to a whole regiment of divine ancestors, and to claim the sanctity which this ancestry involved; and no doubt they would do so. I am, however, in considering the evidence, confining myself mainly to cases in which the alleged ancestor was a well known and important god, or at least one of recognized antiquity, whose descendants would inherit the special degree of sanctity which this importance or antiquity would involve.

Krämer supplies a genealogy of the *tuimanu'a* of Samoa, which, beginning with what he treats as the fifteenth generation, carries the number up to thirty-two generations<sup>2</sup>, and a list of twenty-nine *tuimanu'a* is given by Powell<sup>3</sup>. Powell's list begins with Tae-o-Tangaroa, who, as we have seen, was the son of the god Tangaroa-a-Ui, who was the son of the original god Tangaroa of the skies, Tae-o-Tangaroa being the first divine *tuimanu'a* to dwell upon earth. The *tuimanu'a* then had a traditional divine official origin. Powell's list, however, also shows supposed relationships—mostly that of father and son—between successive *tuimanu'a*, and Krämer's genealogy shows relationships all through, so far back as it goes; apparently then there was a claim by the *tuimanu'a*, not only that their office was of divine origin, but that they were descended from the great god Tangaroa.

Krämer's genealogy of the *tui'aana* of Samoa goes back thirty-two generations; and though it does not start with the name of a god, the first five names, including those of wives of the ancestors, are words indicating light, rock, stones, dust, swamp, etc., thus suggesting an origin going back to a period of physical evolution; and the mother of the person whose name is number 14 in the list was the daughter of Tangaroa of the skies<sup>4</sup>. Another legendary Samoan genealogy, the first two names of which are those of the first two ancestors in the *tui'aana*

<sup>1</sup> The practice of deifying dead chiefs cannot be considered in this book.

<sup>2</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 378 *sqq.*      <sup>3</sup> Powell, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxv, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 167-73.



genealogy, includes (the fifth in the list) Lu, who was, I suppose, the Polynesian god Ru, and (four generations still further down) Pili, the great lizard god of Samoa<sup>1</sup>, both of whom have been mentioned in the traditions told in a previous chapter. So the *tuiaana* claimed that they were descended from Tangaroa<sup>2</sup>, and that they shared with these other two gods a common ancestry.

Krämer's genealogy of the *tuiaua* of Samoa begins with the great god Moso; fifteen generations later comes Salamasina, the woman, who as we have seen, was also a *tuiaana* and *tafa'ifa* of all Samoa; so the *tuiaua* would also share the divine ancestry of the *tuiaana*. Consistently with the traditional descent from Moso there was apparently a belief that this god, though living with the other gods at night, was incarnate by day in the *tuiaua*<sup>3</sup>.

According to a genealogy of the Malietoa of Tuamasanga in Samoa, given by von Bülow, this line of kings claimed descent from both Tangaroa of the skies and Pili<sup>4</sup>, and both this genealogy and that of Krämer<sup>5</sup> include in the list of earlier ancestors a person called Fe'e-po. I may say that there is evidence which seems to indicate that the great Samoan cuttlefish god Fe'e was specially associated with Tuamasanga, and possibly that the appearance in these genealogies of the name Fe'e-po may point to a belief that the god Fe'e was claimed as an ancestor of the Malietoa; but I cannot go into the question here<sup>6</sup>.

I have referred, in discussing "Political Areas and Systems," to the tradition concerning the Tangaroa family, said by Krämer to have held one of the two most important original titles of Savai'i. It is not suggested that the god Tangaroa was the ancestor of the head chiefs of the family of that name; but the story says that in consideration of Fune, the ancestor of the group, giving his wife to the god, he would give Fune his name<sup>7</sup>, and would provide him with eight *tafa'i* or attendants,

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, pp. 24 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This is not inconsistent with my hypothesis that Tangaroa was the supposed original ancestor of the *tuimanua*, whom I associate with the people whom I call the Tangaroans.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, pp. 36 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XI, pp. 109 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, pp. 239-46.

<sup>6</sup> Here again the inclusion of Tangaroa in the genealogy is not inconsistent with my hypothesis. The *tuiaana* and *tuiaua* and *malietoa* were all associated with the Pili traditions, and he was believed to have been a descendant of Tangaroa.

<sup>7</sup> This may well mean, according to Samoan practices, that Tangaroa adopted Fune as his son; in which case he would be regarded as being his son.



and these attendants appear to have been the ancestors of, or closely associated with the foundation of, the four village districts of Savai'i in which the Tangaroa family afterwards lived. We have at least beliefs as to an original close association between the family and the god.

The other of the great Savai'ian families was, according to Krämer, that of the Tonumaip'e'a. Krämer's genealogy of this family extends backwards for twenty-two generations. The list is headed by the name of Si'uleo, the Samoan god of the dead, and this is followed by that of his daughter Nafanua, the war goddess of the Tonumaip'e'a group<sup>1</sup>.

I could refer to a number of other genealogies of great length of leading Samoan families, but I have confined myself to those which associate their ancestries with well-known Samoan gods.

Turning now to Tonga, I refer to the tradition, told in the discussion of "Political Areas and Systems," according to which, after a period during which there had been previous lords of Tonga—called *tuitonga*—evolved from a creeping plant, who, I suggested, were a pre-Tangaroan (as I am calling it) dynasty, there came a man called Ahoeitu, said to have been a descendant of Tangaroa, who dispossessed them, and who, I have suggested, was the first Tangaroan *tuitonga*, and who was followed, according to the lists, by a long series of subsequent *tuitonga*. I cannot demonstrate beliefs as to relationship between these successive *tuitonga*, but it is probable that this very sacred office was believed to have remained in the same family, as we know it did in relatively recent times, and if so we have a tradition that these sacred kings of Tonga claimed descent from Tangaroa. As regards general beliefs as to the *tuitonga*, Thomson refers to a statement that no man knew whence he derived his power, unless indeed he was a descendant of the gods themselves, of Tangaroa, of Hikuleo [the Tongan god of the dead, identical with Si'uleo of Samoa] and of Maui, all of which was hidden in the clouds of ages<sup>2</sup>. Veeson says the *tuitonga* of his time was descended from a family, thought to have come originally from the sky<sup>3</sup>, and other writers refer to the beliefs as to his divine descent<sup>4</sup>. I may point out that whatever divine descent was attributed

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 96-100.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Veeson, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 84. *A.P.F.* vol. XVII, p. 11. Monfat, *Tonga*, p. 13. Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, p. 185. Pigeard, *N.A.V.* vol. 1, p. 183.



to the *tuitonga* could also be claimed by the great families of the *tuihaatakalaua* and *tuikanokubolu*, of whom also there were long lists<sup>1</sup>, and who, according to tradition, were descendants of one of the earlier *tuitonga*.

I will begin, in considering the Society Islands, with Ra'iatea, with its ancient, specially sacred, *marae*, said to have been the cradle of royalty and religion<sup>2</sup>, like Rome to the Catholics, Mecca to Mussulmans, and Jerusalem to Jews<sup>3</sup>. I have already referred to beliefs that the gods Oro and Hiro were sons of Tangaroa, and that the royal family of Ra'iatea was supposed, according to traditions, to have been descended from Hiro and the gods, Tangaroa being specifically mentioned as the original ancestor in one of the claims made. We have seen also that the kings of the island of Borabora also claimed descent from Hiro. Quatrefage's genealogy of the royal family of Ra'iatea goes back for thirty generations prior to that of the Ra'iatean princess, who was the wife of Teu, and the mother of Pomare I of Tahiti, and the fifteenth name appearing in this list is that of Hiro. The Pomare family, being descended from that of Ra'iatea, would share in the glory of its ancient ancestry, and in any claims to divine descent which might be recognized; and indeed there is no doubt that this aristocratic connection was a valuable sacred possession of the Pomares. Then again, the old and powerful Teva group, with its eight districts, covering the whole of the southern shores of Tahiti, claimed descent from a shark god, who, I have suggested, may possibly have been the great Polynesian god Tane.

Ellis is perhaps speaking of the Pomare family of Tahiti, when he says that the king was regarded as filling his high station by lineal descent from the gods<sup>4</sup>; but his statement that the genealogy of the reigning family was usually traced back to the first ages of their traditionary history, and that the kings, in some of the islands, were supposed to have been descended from the gods<sup>5</sup>, evidently refers to the Society Islands generally. Hamilton says that the royal issue was always declared to be sprung from the immortal gods<sup>6</sup>. De Bovis is speaking of the Society Islands generally in saying that the king was descended in direct line from the deity<sup>7</sup>, and that the *ari'i* invariably occupied the top step of the human

<sup>1</sup> West, p. 56. Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> Hamilton, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> De Bovis, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> De Bovis, p. 236.



ladder, and came immediately after the gods, from whom he was descended<sup>1</sup>. Ari'i Taimai says that every chief family traced descent from Tangaroa, or Oro, or some other of the established deities<sup>2</sup>.

The traditional history of the Hervey Island of Mangaia begins, as we have seen, with the three grandsons of the great Polynesian god Rongo, to one of whom, Rangi, the god gave the drum of peace, whilst he gave to Mokoïro direction over food, and to Akatauira he gave the *karakia* or prayers, and sway over his brethren. This tradition refers to the time of the original Ngariki people, prior to the arrival of subsequent groups of migrants from Tonga and Tahiti. The distribution of office thus effected seems to have been the traditional origin of the three subsequent offices of the sacred king (who controlled the beating of the drum of peace), the Ruler of Food, and the secular king. According to lists, supplied by Gill, of the successive holders of these offices, Rangi was the first and Akatauira was the second sacred king<sup>3</sup>; they were also the first and second secular kings<sup>4</sup>, which is not quite consistent with the tradition as to the distribution by Rongo; and Mokoïro was the first ruler of food<sup>5</sup>. We thus start, at all events, with a belief that the first to hold each of these official positions was a grandson of the god Rongo. These lists are not genealogies, and so do not prove beliefs as to divine ancestry of subsequent holders of the offices; though, as regards the sacred kings, we have Gill's statements that the office was hereditary<sup>6</sup>. Possibly subsequent secular kings of the Ngariki group would claim to be descendants of Rangi or Akatauira. Such of the subsequent secular kings as belonged to the Tongan and Tahitian groups would not be dependents of Rongo, unless they had male or female ancestors of the Ngariki people, through whom they could claim such a descent; and we have no knowledge of any divine Tongan or Tahitian ancestry. I can say nothing as to the Rulers of Food.

Nicholas gives a genealogy of the Karika or Makea kings of Rarotonga, beginning with references to physical developments of the earth and what was evidently the birth or coming into being, of Makea-Vaerorangi, who married Ina, the daughter of the god Rongo, after which follows a series of generations

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Gill, *D.L.P.* p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> Gill, *D.L.P.* p. 315; *Myths*, p. 293.



arising from this marriage, the alleged succession being in each case from parent to child; and the seventeenth name on the list is that of the great voyager Karika, who, with Tangiia, commences the traditional history of the island<sup>1</sup>. Then he picks up the genealogy again, commencing with Karika's son, and adding twenty-four more generations, the succession still being from parent to child<sup>2</sup>. There are two other genealogies or lists, obtained by Gill<sup>3</sup> from different sources, of the successions subsequent to Karika, of which one gives twenty-nine names and the other twenty-six. All three genealogies contain at this period various names that are identical, though often differently placed, but they differ in other respects, except as regards the last eight names, as to which they agree. These kings evidently claimed a long chain of ancestors going back to Karika, and, according to Nicholas, to the early days of evolution, followed by the marriage of their original ancestor and ancestress, of whom the latter was the daughter of Rongo.

The genealogy of the Tangiia group of Rarotonga, as given by Nicholas, starts with the great eastern god Atea of Avaiki [the original home] and Papa [generally meaning the earth], after which follow forty-eight names of people whose relationships are not stated, and twenty-two more, successive parents and children, of whom the last is Iro [the Tahitian god Hiro]. We find in this list the names of several Ru and a few Tangaroa; but I cannot say whether they were supposed to have been the gods of those names. We are then told the story [to which, I may say, other writers refer] of Tangiia's meeting with Iro, and persuading the latter to give his son Tai-te-ariki, to be a chief for Tangiia and the head of all his people. Then follows another list, beginning with Tai-te-ariki, descents being stated to be from parent to child, containing forty-four names, which brings the list up to comparatively modern times<sup>4</sup>. So here again we have an alleged genealogy of prodigious length, starting with the god Atea, showing names of what may have been gods, and then including the god Iro.

I do not propose to trouble with the Tinomana group, which, at all events in relatively recent times, seems to have been closely mixed up with the Tangiia and Karika groups—especially perhaps the former.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas, *J.P.S.* vol. 1, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, pp. 631-4.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas, *J.P.S.* vol. 1, pp. 25 *sqq.*



I have already referred, in considering "Political Areas and Systems" to the long lines of ancestry attributed to the three chiefs—Ru, Te-erui and Ruatapu—who successively arrived at the Hervey island of Aitutaki, and for all of whom was claimed descent from an original married couple, Atea [the god] and Papa; all I need now do is to refer to the fact, already discussed, that subsequent chiefs seem to have been descendants of either Te-erui or Ruatapu, or both of them.

The traditions of the Hervey island of Atiu contained, as we have seen, several indications of beliefs as to divine descent or association. There was the old idea, so common in eastern Polynesia, of the marriage of Atea and Papa; and Nukukere, said to have been the first *ariki* of the island, was supposed to have been descended from this union, whilst his aunt was the wife of Tangaroa. Nukukere was succeeded by Mariri, evidently believed to have been a member of another branch of the same family, and to be a descendant of Tangaroa. Then there was an invasion of the island by Utatakienna, who was apparently a descendant of Te-erui of Aitutaki, also a descendant of Atea and Papa, and Utatakienna established his rule there. At a later date the *ariki* of this dynasty married a woman descended from Mariri, thus uniting two rival lines, and their descendants are said to have been chiefs of the island until it was annexed by England.

We have seen that the pedigree of Tararo, who was apparently the head chief of the Hervey island of Mauke, was carried back for twenty-eight generations to the well-known Polynesian personage Rata, and that, according to another statement, he was a descendant of Ruatapu, in which case he also would be able to claim descent from the original Atea and Papa.

Mathias says that each of the Marquesan islands, and even every tribe, was careful to make its king or chief derive from a long chain of ancestors, who had for the most part been made gods<sup>1</sup>; and Tautain says that the Marquesan *hakaiki* were descendants of the gods<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps neither of these statements points to more than what is involved by a general system of deification of the dead; we have, however, some evidence of a more definite character. Porter says that Gattenewa, who, I may say, was the powerful chief of the valley of Taio-hae (Anna Maria Bay) in Nukuhiva, traced his ancestry back

<sup>1</sup> Mathias, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VII, p. 549.



eighty-eight generations, reaching the period when the island was first peopled—to the arrival of Oataia [Atea] or day-light, and Ananoona [Atanua] his wife, and that this chief drew the greatest consideration from inheriting the honours of the great Oataia<sup>1</sup>. D'Urville says that Keata-noui, king of Nukuhiva, was descended in direct line from Oataia, the discoverer and first chief of the island<sup>2</sup>. These two writers are presumably speaking of the same chief. The names of the god Atea, commonly associated with the idea of light, and of his wife Atanua, appear in a Marquesan poem of the victory of Atea, representing light, over Tangaroa, representing darkness, and of Atea's marriage with Atanua (the dawn)<sup>3</sup> and they are found in traditions as to the early peopling by them of the Marquesas; but as these traditions throw no light on the political structure and systems of the group, I did not introduce them into the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems." Both names Atanua and Ananoona (variously spelt) appear in the traditions, and no doubt refer to the same person. Christian gives a Nukuhivan genealogical account, at the head of which we find the marriage of a woman with the god Tane; I am here only concerned with a portion of this genealogy, which refers to a woman descended from this marriage as being a princess from whom many families in the island of Hiva-oa traced descent<sup>4</sup>. Davin refers to a Nukuhivan king who was descended from the god Tamaoua<sup>5</sup>; but I know nothing about this god, and so cannot say whether he was important.

I refer, as regards the Paumotuan island of Mangareva, to what has appeared or been mentioned in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," and in particular to Caillot's two long lists of the kings of the islands, and to my discussion of them, regarded in the light of the traditions, and my suggestions as to their probable interpretation. My suggestions as to the two lists, taken together, were, broadly speaking, as follows. One of the lists, beginning with the name Atea, points to an original political system of kingship of the island, in the hands of pre-Tangaroans<sup>6</sup> the god Atea having been the first king, and he and the next six kings whose names appear in the list having been an original pre-Tangaroan traditional

<sup>1</sup> Porter, vol. II, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. I, p. 501.

<sup>3</sup> See Fornander, vol. I, pp. 214-18.

<sup>4</sup> Christian, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, pp. 193 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Davin, p. 219.

<sup>6</sup> I am using the terms Tangaroan and pre-Tangaroan with the meaning previously explained and often used already.



dynasty; the name Anua Motua, being the eighth in this list, and that of Atumotua (followed by Atumoana, Tangaroa, and Tangaroa hurupapa), with which the other list commences, referred, I have suggested, to the same traditional being, he having been a Tangaroan, who had displaced the old Atea dynasty, and secured the lordship of the island. If this construction of the matter is correct, we have records, going back to the distant past, of a series of kings, the first of whom was the god Atea; whilst after a few generations came another dynasty, the third and fourth names of whose kings were, according to one of the lists, Tangaroa, thus suggesting a close connection of that dynasty with the god, though I cannot contend that it necessarily pointed to the god himself as having been the supposed king. I also mention the references (in the same chapter) to the missionary statement that there had been more than fifty successive kings of Mangareva, and Hale's statement as to twenty-seven kings, the first of whom was supposed to have been the original ancestor of the people. I may say also, as regards the name Atumoana, which has been referred to above, that this might well be Atua-Moana (the god Moana); and this being so, may be the same as Te Moana (*te* being merely the singular definite article), who, according to Montiton, was, in some of the islands, one of the big gods invoked by the *ariki* at a turtle feast<sup>1</sup>.

Caillot gives a long genealogy of the original ancestors of the people of Makemo (one of the Paumotuan islands)<sup>2</sup> and another, of prodigious length, of the ancestors of the island of Hao<sup>3</sup>, both of which commence with the creation of the world by the god Vatea, who is, I think, clearly the same as Atea, and his creation of the god Tiki and his wife Hina, who were the original ancestors. I cannot, however, refer to any statement associating specifically the names appearing in these lists with the ancestry of subsequent rulers of the islands, though I do not doubt that they would claim direct descent.

According to Lister, there was a belief that the kings of the island of Fakaofo, of the Tokelau group, were descended from the two first men, Kava and Singano, who were derived from two stones; but an indefinite period was supposed to have elapsed between them and Kava, whose name heads a list of fifteen kings given by him, and which terminates with the name

<sup>1</sup> Montiton, vol. vi, p. 379.    <sup>2</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, pp. 22-5.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 7-15.



of Kava<sup>1</sup>. In Atafu, of the same group, the ancestry of the reigning king of 1895 was attributed to Fatu, the father or ancestor of Singano<sup>2</sup>.

The lists of the kings of the Ellice island of Funafuti, referred to in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," though they go some way back, do not extend to mythical times, and they do not disclose any ancestry which can be shown to be divine. So also, as regards the lists of the kings of Easter Island, though some of them go a long way back (Thomson's list contains fifty-seven names), they do not disclose any system of family succession, or any divine origin, but I suggest that the name of the first traditional king Hotu-matua, may possibly mean Atu-matua, the first letter of *atua* being sometimes changed in Polynesia to *o* or *e*.

According to Parkinson, the highest chief of the island of Ongtong Java and his relations were descended from legendary ancestors who were still worshipped by their posterity<sup>3</sup>; these, however, were probably only deified ancestors.

#### CLAIMS TO PERSONAL SANCTITY

I will now deal with evidence of the claims by chiefs, and especially great chiefs or kings, to actual personal sanctity, and sometimes even divinity, and its recognition by others. I cannot for this purpose define the meaning with which I use the term "chiefs"; but I draw attention again to my belief as to the association of sanctity with the heads of social groups, which, if correct in principle, would involve the attribution of *some* sanctity to every head of a relatively small group, including a mere domestic household, and not confine it to high-ranked chiefs of large groups, though the degree of sanctity would vary in a sort of descending sliding scale. It is therefore natural that writers referring to this subject generally, should do so more frequently in connection with the members of the upper classes.

Turner says that in Samoa those who had the titles of kings were considered peculiarly sacred. They lived in a house isolated away from the rest, and kept up with great dignity. It was considered dangerous to approach them, because of the deadly influence supposed to radiate from their persons, the evil feared being the swelling of the body, and death, of the

<sup>1</sup> Lister, *J.A.J.* vol. XXI, pp. 53, 59 sq.

<sup>2</sup> R. Parkinson, *J.A.E.* vol. XI, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Newell, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 605.



person who came under this influence<sup>1</sup>. Stair says that some chiefs of high rank, to whom great deference was formerly shown, were called *ali'i pa'ia*, or sacred chiefs, and the examples he gives of these are the *tuaana*, the *tuiatua*, the Malietoa, and some of the well-known and high-ranked chiefs of Samoa<sup>2</sup>. These *ali'i pa'ia* always took their meals separately, because whatever they touched was supposed to partake of their sacredness; so all food left by them at the close of a meal was taken to the bush and thrown away, as it was believed that if a person not belonging to this sacred class ate of it, his stomach would immediately swell from disease, and death would speedily ensue<sup>3</sup>. The food taken to these chiefs was designated *pa'ia* or sacred<sup>4</sup>. Brown says of these *ali'i pa'ia*, not only that they might not be touched, but that their food had to be thrown to them<sup>5</sup>; no one might eat the food they had left, and no one might sit beside them, a vacant place being always left on each side of the seat of honour on which they sat<sup>6</sup>. According to Wilkes, no native ever ventured to come in contact with a chief<sup>7</sup>. Wilkes also says of a chief Tamafanga that he "contrived to cause his person" to be considered as sacred, and "to impress on his countrymen the idea" that it would be sacrilege to disobey, hurt, or even touch him<sup>8</sup>. He assumed the attributes, not only of a king, but also of a god<sup>9</sup>. This chief appears to have been a *tafa'ifa* or king of all Samoa<sup>10</sup>, and I think Wilkes has mistaken a recognized Samoan belief for a purely personal pretension. Williams says of this same chief that he was worshipped as a god<sup>11</sup>. Williams also tells us of a Malietoa, that he would not descend from the deck of a ship, although it rained heavily, and the Malietoa's friends accounted for this on the ground that his presence rendered a place sacred<sup>12</sup>. Churchward tells us that the *tuimamua* was not allowed to walk anywhere, because if he did this, and many other things necessary to common life, misfortune was supposed to be sure to befall the community<sup>13</sup>. Krämer says that anyone coming into contact with a great chief became taboo; therefore each great chief had a special body servant. The

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, pp. 342 sq.    <sup>2</sup> Stair, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 121 sq. Cf. p. 127, and Krämer, *S.J.* vol. I, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Stair, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 283.    <sup>6</sup> Brown, p. 280.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 106.    <sup>8</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 103.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 153.    <sup>10</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. I, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Williams, p. 334.    <sup>12</sup> Churchward, p. 42.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 454.



wives of the kings were also taboo, but were released from the taboo at night in so far as they were not of royal origin<sup>1</sup>. This rule as to wives seems to have been a convenient doctrine for enabling a king to have sexual intercourse with wives of inferior rank without infecting them with his superior sanctity. The gods [that is their images] and the consecrated great chiefs—*ali'i pa'ia*—were carried in litters<sup>2</sup>; but this was only done, as regarded men, in the case of the great title chiefs who claimed divine origin<sup>3</sup>. The sacred importance attached to the practice is illustrated by the case of a converted *tuimanu'a* whose people proposed to carry him in a litter, but who refused it on the ground that only the great king in heaven [that is the white man's god] should be honoured with a litter<sup>4</sup>. Krämer speaks of two great chiefs who, when holding private conference with the *tuimanu'a*, sat outside the house, and spoke to him with their faces turned away from him<sup>5</sup>. It seems, according to Krämer, that the cry "The light is gone out; the rocks turn to dust," or words to that effect, was a usual way of saying that a great chief had died<sup>6</sup>. He also refers to such expressions as "The heaven splits open," "The moon falls down," "The Olosa's mountain is split in two," and "The place is dark"<sup>7</sup>. Von Bülow, after saying that the possessor of a title was sacred, and was regarded by the family as the representative of the god, tells us that a portion of the divinity adhered to the *ao* [titles] that were granted by gods to men. Whoever ate out of vessels or enjoyed food which the *sao* [head chief of the village] had touched was stricken by an illness which manifested itself by swelling of the limbs, etc.<sup>8</sup> According to Stuebel, no one but the high *tulafale* would dare to touch fruit planted or fish caught by a *tuimanu'a*, a *tuiatua*, a *tuiaana* or a *Maliotoa*<sup>9</sup>. I suspect the *tulafale* referred to would be the "special body servant," the reference to whom by Krämer I have already quoted. Stuebel also says that when a *tuimanu'a* was travelling he might not raise his head up, but had to keep it hanging down, as otherwise the fruits on the trees would go wrong<sup>10</sup>. Fraser says that no one could sit where a king sat, and no one could touch his food<sup>11</sup>. Persons of very high rank

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 421 note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 451.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 390 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 377; cf. pp. 390 sq., 421, 451.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 206, 208 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 109 note 1.

<sup>8</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 63. Cf. von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 367.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 106.

<sup>9</sup> Stuebel, p. 70.

<sup>11</sup> Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIX, p. 377 note.



and the sick were carried on a litter<sup>1</sup>. There is a legendary example of the appointment by a chief of his son as his successor, and of the son refusing to accept the restraints which the dignity imposed, and leaving the country<sup>2</sup>. There is a statement that the "king" of Tutuila never lifted up his eyes, but always kept them directed to the earth; because if he looked upon the trees they would die, as also would animals and men, and the land and all things in it might be cursed<sup>3</sup>.

There are various references to the sanctity of the *tuitonga*, but this obviously would be recognized, so I will content myself with drawing attention to a few specific examples. The *Duff* missionaries say that he was esteemed as an *atua* or god<sup>4</sup>. One of the French missionaries says that he was regarded as a demi-god, and was the object of a kind of cult<sup>5</sup>; and another of them describes him as having been something like the living divinity of the island [of Tongatabu]<sup>6</sup>. Monfat says he partook of the nature of the divinity<sup>7</sup>. Mariner tells us that he was too high in rank to be the mere servant of the gods, or mere instrument of communication between them and mankind, being next to the gods in rank and dignity<sup>8</sup>.

There were three other matters which differentiated the *tuitonga* from other people; he was not either circumcised [incised] or tattooed<sup>9</sup> and he was exempt from the duty of wounding the head and cutting the flesh in connection with mourning<sup>10</sup>. It will be noticed that these three common Tongan practices, which were not adopted as regards *tuitonga*, all involved shedding of the person's blood; and their avoidance in his case may perhaps be associated with the desire to avoid this as regards his sacred person<sup>11</sup>. I may say that he *did* perform the mourning ceremony of beating his cheeks with his fists, a performance which, though doubtless painful, did not apparently draw blood<sup>12</sup>. The family name of the *tuitonga* was Fatafehe<sup>13</sup>; and there is a statement that this was the name of

<sup>1</sup> *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxv, p. 119 note.

<sup>2</sup> Powell, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxvi, pp. 295 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *J.P.S.* vol. xii, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xxxii, p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> Monfat, *Tonga*, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Mariner, vol. ii, p. 86; Cook, vol. v, p. 427; and see d'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. ii, p. 47. Mariner says (vol. ii, p. 197) that the *tuitonga* might be tattooed if he went to Samoa for the purpose; I do not understand this.

<sup>7</sup> Cook, vol. v, p. 408.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rivera, *H.M.S.* vol. ii, p. 437 and note 2.

<sup>9</sup> Cook, vol. v, pp. 345 sq.

<sup>10</sup> Mariner, vol. ii, p. 83. Several writers refer to them by this name.

<sup>11</sup> Wilson, p. 247.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i, p. 453.

<sup>13</sup> Mariner, vol. ii, p. 125.



their family god, though I have not been able to find out where I have seen it. I do not know what was the origin of this adoption of the name of the god; but there is an example of the change in 1845 of the name of the *tuikanokubolu* or secular king on his inauguration to that of the family god<sup>1</sup>. Possibly the practice, if it was such, was based on the idea that the god entered into the king on his succession to the title, when he would become sacred, and would also become the natural priest (as I have called it) of his people.

There were in Tonga certain contact taboos which apparently applied only or specially to the *tuitonga*. If he entered a house belonging to a subject it would become taboo and could never be inhabited by its owner; so there were particular houses for his reception when travelling<sup>2</sup>. Also nobody could eat, drink or sleep in the house in which he did so without becoming tabooed; and for this reason, says Mariner, he never went to the house of any of his wives to sleep, but always sent for her to come to him<sup>3</sup>. This latter precaution would, I should imagine, be intended to avoid infection by his sacred presence, of the house, and not of the wife. There were, however, restrictions evidently affecting other chiefs, besides the *tuitonga*. West says that the persons of the priests and chiefs of the highest ranks could not be touched<sup>4</sup>. Elsewhere he says the persons of the priests were sacred, because of their supposed familiarity with the gods<sup>5</sup>. Presumably this was why they might not be touched, so we may believe that the reason for not touching a chief would be the same. According to Cook, the great chiefs appeared to share some of the sacredness of the king; and they were styled by the people the lords, not only of the earth, but of the sun and skies also<sup>6</sup>. Mariner refers to three offences which gave rise to a taboo; in doing so he speaks of the person with reference to whom the offence might be committed as "a superior chief or *superior relation*" (the italics are mine), which seems to involve the inclusion of people other than chiefs. The three offences were touching him or anything immediately belonging to him, eating in his presence (unless his back was turned upon the eater), and eating food, other than kava root or its infusion, which he had touched. The commission of any of these offences rendered the culprit taboo, and while in that

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, p. 245; cf. West, pp. 58 sq.; Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Cook, vol. v, p. 428.

<sup>3</sup> Mariner, vol. i, p. 123 note.

<sup>4</sup> West, p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> Cook, vol. v, p. 425.



condition, he might not feed himself with his own hands<sup>1</sup>; he had to be fed by someone else—indeed even the use of a toothpick was forbidden, unless another person's hand held it though the man himself might guide that hand. If he was hungry, and there was no one to feed him, he had to go down on his hands and knees, and so pick up his food with his mouth<sup>2</sup>. The penalty which a man incurred by feeding himself, whilst under the taboo, was that his liver or some other viscus would be liable to become enlarged and scirrhus, and ultimately he would swell up and die<sup>3</sup>; and a common man touching the property of a chief would have been punished, or perhaps killed<sup>4</sup>.

The kings of the Society island of Ra'iatea, according to Tyerman and Bennet, enjoyed divine honours, being deified at the time of their accession to political supremacy. In their character as gods they always took the name of Tamatoa, receiving presents from the kings and chiefs of adjacent and distant islands, whose gods were all considered as being tributary to the Oro of Ra'iatea, and their princes owing homage to its monarch, who was Oro's hereditary high priest, as well as an independent deity himself<sup>5</sup>. Tyerman and Bennet refer to the installation ceremony at Oro's principal *marae* in Ra'iatea of the Tamatoa of their time as his enrolment among the gods, and say that, as one of the deities of his subjects, he was worshipped, consulted as an oracle, and had sacrifices and prayers offered to him<sup>6</sup>. Both Williams and Moerenhout say that the king of Ra'iatea was worshipped as a god<sup>7</sup>.

It may well be believed that a special degree of sanctity was attributed to the kings of Ra'iatea, but the chiefs, and especially the great chiefs or kings of other Society Islands were sacred also. According to Davies's dictionary, the word *tuataea* meant a sacred place, "such as the front of the *marae*, or the back of the king"; and *mahamehamea* meant "sacred, as the person, house, food, etc., of a principal chief." There are references to the custom for Tahitian kings to be the representatives of

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. II, pp. 186–88. Cf. (as to eating) Cook, vol. III, p. 185; vol. V, pp. 272, 309, 318, 338; Forster, *Voy.* vol. I, p. 464; Thomson, *D.P.M.* pp. 46 sq.; Labillardière, vol. II, pp. 118 sq., 129.

<sup>2</sup> Mariner, vol. I, p. 133 note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 172 note, 133 note.

<sup>4</sup> West, p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, pp. 529 sq. Tamatoa was one of the two hereditary titles of the kings of Ra'iatea (de Bovis, pp. 295 sq.). Perhaps this was *tama-atua* (the child of the god).

<sup>6</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 524.

<sup>7</sup> Williams, pp. 225, 373, 561. Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 480. Cf. Arbousset, p. 260.



the gods or personate them, and receive the homage and requests presented to them; but these might not mean more than that the kings acted as high priests. I will, however, quote two statements by Ellis, one being that the god and the king were generally supposed to share the authority over mankind<sup>1</sup>, and the other that the king personified the god, and received the offerings brought to the temple, and the prayers of the supplicants, "which have been frequently presented to Tamatoa, the present king of Ra'iatea"<sup>2</sup>. De Bovis says that the *ari'i* were sacred persons, gifted with miraculous powers and virtues<sup>3</sup>.

According to Gaussin, the royal names generally proclaimed a supernatural attribute; almost all of them contained the word *atua*, "god," and seemed to indicate that the nature of the divinity was recognized in the personages who bore them, even in their lifetimes<sup>4</sup>. I have searched Ari'i Taimai's genealogies for examples of the introduction into names of the word *atua*, or similar words, which probably, or possibly, were really the same, with the following results; the numbers in parentheses all refer to the tables in her book, whilst notes in square brackets are my own suggestions of possible meanings.

The Pomares had the family name Tunuicaite *atua*, and Pomare I was also called Pomare-Vairatoa [*atua*?] (III, IV, V). The first wife of Pomare II was called Tetua [Te-*atua* or te'tua, meaning the god?; *te* is the Polynesian definite article singular, and *tua* is, according to Tregear's dictionary sometimes used for *atua*] (IV). Amo of Papara had a name Tevahitua [Tevahi-*atua* or Tevahi'tua?, possibly applied to him as official head of all the Teva groups] (I, II, III), and his wife Purea had a name Airoro *atua* or Airorotua (I, III). His brother's wife was called Faaraatua (I, II); and his sister's daughter was Moeatua (I). I pick out the following other names, without always explaining the relationships of the people to the two reigning families of Purionuu and Papara. Teraha tetua [Terahate-*atua* or te'tua?] (I, II); Taputapuatea (II); Tauraatua, the grandfather of Ari'i Taimai (II); Terii Vaetua [Terii Va-*atua*?], Purea's father (III, IV); Teihotu [Teihotua or Teiatua?], and Auri Ruatefata, her two brothers (III); Punuateraitua and Teraitua [the *a* of *atua* dropped in both cases?] (VI). It may well be that the terminal *atua* or its equivalent<sup>5</sup> was used in

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> De Bovis, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> Gaussin, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> I may say, as to variations in the spelling of *atua* in Polynesia, that an *e* or an *o* is sometimes substituted for the initial *a*.



other cases also—indeed there are names of persons appearing in more than one table, to which the *atua* is added in one table, and not in the other. I may also refer to that very powerful family in the smaller peninsula of Tahiti, whose name of Vehiatua seems to have passed down from generation to generation, a fact which is well illustrated by a genealogy given by Corney<sup>1</sup>.

Ellis says of the king (referring apparently to Pomare) that his houses were called "the clouds of heaven," his canoe "the rainbow," the glare of torches in his dwelling "lightning," his voice was "thunder"; people passing his abode in the evening, and seeing the torches burning in it, said that "lightning was flashing in the clouds of Heaven," and his journeyings, shoulder borne, from place to place, were spoken of as "flying"<sup>2</sup>. Miraculous events were said to have occurred in connection with the important ceremony of his inauguration to the royal office. The sacred *aoa* tree shot out a new fibrous branch at his birth, and this branch reached the ground when the inauguration ceremony was to take place; the bamboo used in connection with the ceremony drew its roots out of the ground and leaped into the hand of the man sent to fetch it<sup>3</sup>. The head chief of all the Teva was a most sacred person<sup>4</sup>. The chief of Eimeo was called the "Lord Moon of the summit of the sky"<sup>5</sup>.

Ari'i Taimai says that in Tahiti, though the *ari'i rahi*, or head chiefs, were sacred, probably none of them preserved their sacred character throughout the entire island. They were sacred only when they were among their own people or connections by marriage, and in illustration of this, she refers to the visit, witnessed by Cook, of Teri'irere of Papara [the head king of all the Teva] with his father and mother (Amo and Pura) to Matavai, which is in Haapape, and not a Teva district. The district chiefs stripped themselves at his approach, but Ari'i Taimai says that this was because of a connection between the families<sup>6</sup>. This practice of uncovering as a sign of reverential respect for a great chief was universal in the Society Islands.

The persons of the Tahitian kings were regarded as scarcely less sacred than the personifications of their deities. Every-

<sup>1</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, Preface, p. xxxix.      <sup>2</sup> Ellis, vol. III, pp. 113 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 107 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7. I think this limitation of the people by whom the sanctity was recognized, at all events to its full extent, was not confined to the Society Islands. If it was connected with the association between the chief and the god, it would hardly be strong among groups who did not worship that god.



thing in the least degree connected with the king or queen—the cloth they wore, the houses in which they dwelt, the canoes in which they voyaged, the men by whom they were borne when they journeyed by land—became sacred; these bearers were regarded as holding an office second only to that of the bearers of the images of the gods, and were generally exempt from other labour. The ground upon which the king and queen trod, even accidentally, became sacred, and it was for this reason that, when travelling on land outside their own private estate, they had to be carried on the shoulders of bearers, never for a moment letting their feet touch the ground, which, had they done so, would at once have become sacred. They even had, when changing carriers, to vault from the back of one man to that of the other, so that their feet should not for a moment come in contact with the ground. They could never enter any dwellings, other than those specially dedicated to their use and prohibited to all others, for if they did so, these dwellings would at once become sacred, and would have to be vacated by their owners. No one was allowed to touch the body of the king or queen; and any one who should stand over them, or pass a hand over their heads, would be liable to pay for the sacrilegious act with his life<sup>1</sup>.

The serious character of the taboo involved by contact with the soil is illustrated by de Bovis's statement that the contact would have brought about a prohibition, embarrassing to traffic for a certain number of years<sup>2</sup>, which means, I take it, that years would elapse before the sanctity in the soil would have passed away, leaving it safe for other people to tread upon. Cook says that a house or furniture which had become taboo by contact with the king had to be burnt<sup>3</sup>. Turnbull says the house was pulled down<sup>4</sup>. Vancouver tells us that any vessels from which he had eaten or drunk had to be destroyed<sup>5</sup>. Moerenhout says that the heir to a great chief was so venerated that "even during his childhood" people were scarcely allowed to see him<sup>6</sup>; and Bligh was only allowed to see the young king across a small river at a distance of about fifty yards<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, pp. 101 *sqq.* Cf. (as to houses) Vancouver, pp. 108, 117; Wilson, pp. 63, 321; Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 265; Hamilton, p. 52; Turnbull, pp. 361 *sq.*, 158, and (as to carrying), Wilson, pp. 62 *sq.*, 157, 321; Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 264; Bligh, p. 74; Veeson, p. 51; Vancouver, p. 117; Cook, vol. I, p. 145; Turnbull, p. 361; L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. I, pp. 50, 52, 121; Baessler, *N.S.B.* pp. 121 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cook, vol. I, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Turnbull, pp. 361 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> De Bovis, pp. 241 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> Vancouver, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Bligh, pp. 74, 136.



Referring to Moerenhout's and Bligh's statements, I may say there was a Society Island practice for a chief, the possessor of the title of his group, to lose his title on the birth of a son, the title passing to the son, and with the title would pass the sanctity attached to it, though the father would commonly continue to perform the functions and duties of the office. Several authors to whom I have referred in the foot-notes fall into hopeless confusion, in speaking of the application of the idea of the taboo to the son, and not to the father, for want apparently of an understanding of this practice. There are, I may add, statements from which it would seem that the taboo relating to the king might apply also to certain near relatives<sup>1</sup>, and if these are correct there is a further explanation of the confusion; but I find it difficult to believe that they are correct in the sense that these relatives shared the full sanctity of the king, though they, as high-ranked persons, and perhaps as heads of other minor social groups, would have a sanctity of their own.

De Bovis says that the *ari'i* were sacred persons, gifted with miraculous powers and virtues, and the food they had touched became deadly poison for all except those who belonged to the royal blood<sup>2</sup>. He tells us of the image bearers that contact with the god rendered their persons sacred like him, and it was forbidden to do them any injury or to touch their food<sup>3</sup>; and that the high priests and *ari'i* were in the same position<sup>4</sup>. So also, Tyerman and Bennet say that in Huahine the great dignity of the position of the priests connected with the images of the national temple had its accompanying disadvantages. They tell us something of one of these men, who was the official bearer of the image of the god Tane. He was so sacred that everything he touched became sacred; he might not climb a coconut tree, for if he did so it became taboo; he was not allowed to marry. He was the only man who had the right to handle Tane's image; and it was his special prerogative to carry it on its annual removal to the neighbouring island to be stripped and newly dressed, and afterwards bear it back to the *marae*, though the priests of the temple might attend to the undressing and dressing. In order to reinstate the image in its upper chamber he had to climb a post of Tane's house, 25 feet high, with the

<sup>1</sup> Vancouver, p. 110. Cook, vol. 1, pp. 145 sq. There was in fact no hard and fast line as to persons to whom the taboo applied to a greater or less extent. It was a question of relative rank.

<sup>2</sup> De Bovis, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 282.



unwieldy block on his shoulders<sup>1</sup>. The interest of these statements is the indication they afford of the definitely religious character of the taboo that infected a great chief, whose sanctity would be based upon the belief as to his close association with the god, just as that of the image bearer was founded upon his physical contact with the image of the god, in which the latter was supposed to be immanent. Ellis says that the persons of the men who carried the king and queen were, in consequence of their office, regarded as sacred<sup>2</sup>, and that their post was considered the most honourable, next to that of the bearers of the gods<sup>3</sup>; so we have the idea of the transmission by a king to his carrier of sanctity, similar in character to that which arose in the case of the god, and inferior to it only in degree. The similarity between the sanctity of the king and that of the image of the god is illustrated also by a statement by de Bovis that contact with the king or an idol was sufficient to cause the taboo to fall on certain things or places, and the high priest could not always raise it. Thus, for example, the food touched by the king might only be used by him; it was taboo, and would have given leprosy to the insolent person who dared to appropriate it to his own use; and all the high priests of the country could do nothing<sup>4</sup>.

There can be no doubt that, though a man would probably receive human punishment for acting disrespectfully to a chief, the main idea underlying the penalty for breach of these taboos arising from contact, direct or indirect, with a chief was that of supernatural punishment or consequence; but de Bovis appears, so far as I have been able to ascertain by searching the evidence, to be the only person who, in speaking of leprosy, gives us any information of the character of the illness which the breach would involve.

Moerenhout says that chiefs were sometimes taboo for several days, and even months, remaining in a state of absolute inactivity, not being allowed to use their hands to eat, but being fed by others<sup>5</sup>. Cook refers to an occasion when a chief came to visit him; the chief refused to put a single morsel of food in his mouth, and would have gone without it if one of his servants had not fed him<sup>6</sup>. Bligh says that Pomare I was fed by one of the attendants, "this being a particular custom

<sup>1</sup> Tyerman, vol. 1, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Moerenhout, vol. 1, p. 530.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> De Bovis, pp. 285 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Cook, vol. 1, p. 105.



among some of the superior chiefs"<sup>1</sup>; and he reports the same conduct on the part of the chief of Attahuru<sup>2</sup>. On one occasion when Pomare was dining with Bligh, and his attendants had been sent away, Pomare made Bligh lift the wine to his mouth<sup>3</sup>. The *Duff* missionaries say that Pomare, when at the missionaries' house, was fed by an attendant<sup>4</sup>. Turnbull, in speaking of a visit to him of Pomare I, says that it was his practice, when in the company of strangers, to be fed by some attendant or a concubine; but that on shore he was not so scrupulous on this point of etiquette<sup>5</sup>. He also tells us that the king of Ra'iatea, when eating on board ship, was fed by one of his near relations<sup>6</sup>. Hamilton says the king was never permitted to help himself to meat or drink<sup>7</sup>. Corney records a statement that the status of Tu [Pomare II] only differed from that of the Vehiatua in certain ceremonies which showed him to be of greater rank, such as being fed by another person "when he is eating among his own people, but not when he eats abroad"<sup>8</sup>. Parkinson says that, when a chief had been invested with the *maro* [the sacred girdle of royalty] he was ever afterwards fed by his attendants, who put the food into his mouth<sup>9</sup>. Queen Purea was fed by two girls<sup>10</sup>. Arbousset, speaking of the respect with which the *areoi* were regarded, says that the heads, out of vanity, had their food brought to their mouths<sup>11</sup>. De Bovis refers to certain high personages among the *areoi*, who opened their mouths for the food which persons of inferior rank put into it<sup>12</sup>.

I think that many of the writers who, in speaking of these taboo restrictions arising from contact, direct or indirect, with the king, are referring to one of the two Pomares, whom they seem to have regarded as the kings of all Tahiti; but I am convinced that the practices applied to all great chiefs of the island. Ari'i Taimai says that the custom of carrying chiefs applied to every *ari'i rahi*<sup>13</sup>, a term that includes great head chiefs of other districts. So also it is probable that the practices were followed in other Society Islands, whose kings bore the great sanctity enjoyed by those of Tahiti; and as to this I may

<sup>1</sup> Bligh, p. 66.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 70.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 77.<sup>4</sup> Wilson, p. 75.<sup>5</sup> Turnbull, p. 140.<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 167.<sup>7</sup> Hamilton, p. 52.<sup>8</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 265.<sup>9</sup> Parkinson (2), p. 47.<sup>10</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 460.<sup>11</sup> Arbousset, p. 23. <sup>12</sup> De Bovis, p. 263.<sup>13</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 7.



say that, according to Turnbull, the young king of Huahine was carried on men's shoulders<sup>1</sup>.

In the Hervey island of Mangaia the sacred king, like the *tuitonga*, was not tattooed<sup>2</sup>, and my suggestion as to the reason for this in Tonga applies also to Mangaia. The rule of each secular king was indifferently called a *mangaia*, or peaceful reign, or a *koina-ra*, or bright shining of the sun, the king being the sun. Sometimes he was called "the man who holds the sun," and at other times "the sun eater." At death, or the transference of the secular kingly power, it was said that "the sun had set"<sup>3</sup>. In Rarotonga the stealing of food from a high chief by his slaves was supposed to cause to the thief lupus or cancer of the nose and face<sup>4</sup>. This might be the penalty for the act of theft, and not merely the consequence of the taboo character of the food; but even if this were so, it is obvious that the source of punishment was the supernatural power of the chief, or of the gods. The angry glance of a high Rarotongan chief was also believed to produce the same disease, and a man told Gill that his father had warned him never to look Makea [the king] in the face, lest the regal glance should devour him<sup>5</sup>. So also Wragge was told that a queen Makea had the evil eye, and could work mischief untold upon those who displeased her. She would dismiss her offending subject with a "basilisk" look, and he would go off to sicken and die<sup>6</sup>. William Gill tells us that the body of the head chief of the Tangiia clan was considered so sacred that he rarely walked on the ground, but was carried on a man's shoulders; and whenever he appeared in public before his people, he was seated on the naked backs of two or three of his slaves, whose bodies were laid prostrate on the ground for the purpose<sup>7</sup>.

The discussion of the subject of the recognition of continuing sanctity in the Marquesan chiefs is rendered difficult by our uncertainty as to the categories, as expressed in English terminology, into which we may more properly place some of the people. I have already referred, in the chapter on "Priests and Sorcerers" to the men called *atua*, of whom there appear to have been very few, who were deified in their lifetimes and were credited with supernatural powers possessed by themselves personally, and not merely as agents of the invisible

<sup>1</sup> Turnbull, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Gill, *Myths*, p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Gill, *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, p. 629.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Wragge, p. 134; cf. p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> W. Gill, *Gems*, vol. II, p. 4.



gods. These men, however, living lives of mysticism and seclusion, can hardly be included in the class of chiefs engaged in secular duties, though they may have been very sacred chiefs; but we know so little about them, having in particular no knowledge of their origin or of that of their great sanctity, that I can say nothing more about them here.

The only reference I have found to actual deification of persons other than these solitary *atua* is a statement by Krusenstern that all the children and grandchildren of the family of the king [of the Teii tribe of Anna Maria Bay] were regarded as deities—*atua*; and he refers to a granddaughter, only eight or ten months old, of the king who was regarded as an *atua*<sup>1</sup>. If this was so, there must have been some system of deification of certain persons of specially high rank, of which we have no knowledge, but it is difficult to imagine that all the children and grandchildren of a monarch would be credited with an actual divinity from which he himself was excluded. This might well be the case as regarded any one child, for the custom of abdication on the birth of a son, as in Tahiti, prevailed in the Marquesas. Mathias says that the persons of chiefs were sacred and inviolable, as representative, in the temporal order, of the divinity<sup>2</sup>. Vincendon-Dumoulin says that the *akaiki*, or civil chiefs, were inviolate, owing probably to the supposed sacred origin of their ancestors<sup>3</sup>. He also refers to a head chief who differed from his subordinates in the fact that he was not tattooed<sup>4</sup>; and I have suggested, as regards the *tuitonga* and the sacred king of Mangaia, that the reason for this exemption was unwillingness to shed the blood of a very holy man. Vincendon-Dumoulin also says that the mats, utensils, etc., of a chief were taboo to other persons, who might not touch them<sup>5</sup>; and Porter tells us that the mat on which Gattanewa [king of the Teii people referred to above] reposed might not be touched by a woman, and that those of his wife and family were taboo to people of inferior class<sup>6</sup>. Langsdorff says that the person of a *taua* or priest, and all his effects—calebashes, tools, canoes, etc., were taboo<sup>7</sup>; the *taua* have been included in previous chapters among the priests and not the chiefs. Vincendon-Dumoulin says that if a taboo man lay on a mat of a man not of the taboo classes, the latter

<sup>1</sup> Krusenstern, vol. 1, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *I.M.* p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, vol. 11, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Mathias, pp. 100 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 262.

<sup>7</sup> Langsdorff, vol. 1, p. 178.



might not sleep on the mat again, but put it to another use<sup>1</sup>; and, according to Stewart, if a taboo man placed his hand beneath a sleeping mat, it could never be used as such again, but might be worn as a mantle or used as a canoe sail, though a mantle or sail, having been over the heads of others, could not be used as a sleeping mat<sup>2</sup>. If we were to interpret the term "taboo man," as used by these two writers, as meaning a chief, we should have here evidence, similar to that which we have obtained from other islands, pointing to sanctity of chiefs; but these are the very writers according to whom all but the very common people were included in the taboo class, though I have already expressed my doubts as to the interpretation we are to put upon this terminological distinction. We may at all events accept the evidence as being similar to that of the other islands in the sense that it points to a taboo preventing the use of an article by a member of a lower class in consequence of previous contact with one of higher rank, though the taboo here seems only to affect the use of the article for sleeping<sup>3</sup>. The reference to the prohibition against use as a sleeping mat of something which had been over the heads of others is curious; but there is a possible explanation. In Polynesia a man's head was a very sacred part of his body; and contact of a mantle, or of a sail, such as would often occur, with the head of a person, might well be believed to give the object a degree of taboo or sanctity that caused the danger attaching to its subsequent use by one, at all events if he was of lower rank. If this speculative explanation of the meaning of the statement is correct, we have a further indication of the supernatural character of the reason for the taboo. There is, at all events, one piece of evidence of sanctity which to some extent links up the testimony as a whole with what we have seen, apparently in Samoa, and certainly in Tahiti, in Shillibeer's statement that the person of a king being taboo, whatever place or ground he touched became sacred, and that he was therefore always carried on a man's back<sup>4</sup>. Stevenson tells us of a *tahuku* (a sacred man), who came on board his ship, that he had to be waited upon. He would not reach to get himself a glass of water; it had to be given him in his hand, and if aid were denied him, he would fold his arms, bow his head, and

<sup>1</sup> *I.M.* p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> I must point out that Stewart does not refer, as does Vincendon-Dumoulin, to the difference of class.

<sup>3</sup> Stewart, vol. 1, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Shillibeer, p. 51.



go without<sup>1</sup>. This man seems to have been a priest and may have been a chief; and it will be noticed that the glass only had to be put in his hand, and that he might hold it himself for the purpose of drinking.

Caillot says that in the Paumotuan island of Mangareva, however great might be the distance separating the noble from the plebeian, it was less than that separating the king from the nobles, who were nevertheless of the same class as he. The nobles, like the plebeians, had such a consideration for the king, and allowed him such authority over them, that they to some degree made him a being almost supernatural, to whom also they gave, during his lifetime, the title of god<sup>2</sup>. So also, Caillot tells the tradition as to Munanui, a king of Hao Island, that he possessed very great power [*mana* in native text]. He had a large body. He could hold four men's heads in his hands, and his power [*mana*] came from the evil spirit. He knew what passed everywhere; his evil spirits told him. There were also other great men in Hao, but they were under the domination of Munanui, who was more powerful, because his power came from evil spirits, because he had a large strong body, and because he had far more people under his dominion<sup>3</sup>. I have quoted this statement in full for the purpose of introducing the reference to the large body and wide dominions, as a partial source of power, though I think the idea of the *mana*, supposed to have been possessed by the king, was probably regarded as having been the main basis of his authority. The French missionaries tell us of a visit to them of the high priest of Mangareva, who, though asked to come into the house, would not do so, but remained squatting at the door while his people entered, because, as the missionaries thought, his person was taboo<sup>4</sup>. This man may have been either a priest or a chief or both; but if the missionaries' belief as to the reason for his refusal to enter the house is correct, we probably have a Paumotuan example of the taboo that would arise from contact with a very sacred person. I have found, and give, for what they are worth, two references to carrying in the island of Anaa. Quiros tells of a chief who had been forcibly taken to see him, and who, when he returned, was carried by his people back again<sup>5</sup>. The French missionaries say that the chief of the island carried their catechist Murphy on his back from the

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson, *S.S.* p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. IX, p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Quiros, vol. I, p. 203.



shore to his house; and their explanation is that the people believed from his greater bulk, as compared with that of the other missionaries, that he was a chief<sup>1</sup>. We are not told in the former case why the chief was carried; and as regards the latter, I must point out that, if the reason had been fear of contact of a chief's foot with the ground, it is hardly likely that the chief of the island himself would be treading it, unless indeed it was part of his own personal estate, or his special sanctity had passed from him on the birth of a child<sup>2</sup>; also that Polynesians often carried white visitors, though this may have been because they were regarded as chiefs. There are other possible reasons for this which I cannot discuss here. Then again the fact that a chief has been carried on a single occasion cannot be regarded as evidence that he always had to be carried for fear of a taboo.

There are references to carrying the king of the island of Fotuna and white visitors<sup>3</sup>; but I do not think they necessarily point to anything. In Uvea the people might not touch what the king and chiefs used<sup>4</sup>; and people speaking to the king had to avoid looking at his face, and turn slightly aside, as if addressing someone on his right or left<sup>5</sup>. It is stated that in the island of Fakaofu, of the Tokelau group, their king was not only high priest, but that he was worshipped as representing the supreme being—deified as the great god—and his shrine was regarded by his people as the holiest spot on earth<sup>6</sup>. In Olosenga, of the same group, there are records of the carrying of the king, but it is not stated that this was always done<sup>7</sup>. It is recorded that the chief of one of the Ellice Islands claimed to be not only its chief, but its great deity<sup>8</sup>. Thomson says the person of the king of Easter Island was held sacred<sup>9</sup>; and Lapelin says that not only were the persons of the kings sacred, but they were regarded as deities<sup>10</sup>.

The supernatural beliefs disclosed by the evidence are full of interest. We have the general idea of the infective taboo, arising from contact, direct or indirect, with a great chief; the conception of the "evil eye," with which we may, I think,

<sup>1</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. viii, pp. 49 sq., 50 note.

<sup>2</sup> The practice of abdication on birth of a child seems to have prevailed in Mangareva, but I do not know whether this was so in Anaa.

<sup>3</sup> Dalrymple, vol. ii, pp. 49 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xiii, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Mangeret, vol. i, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> Newell, *A.A.A.S.* vol. vi, p. 606.

<sup>7</sup> Quiros, vol. i, p. 213. Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. xxi, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Hale, p. 167. Wilkes, vol. v, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> W. J. Thomson, p. 472.

<sup>10</sup> Lapelin, *R.M.C.* vol. xxxv, p. 109.



associate the practice of turning the back to the chief, or at all events not looking him in the face; and we have the special danger that arose if a person who had become infected with the taboo, were, whilst the infection lasted, to feed himself, with which may probably be associated the custom for the great chief himself to abstain from self feeding, either perhaps at specific times or under specific circumstances, or as a regular practice. It would, however, be futile to attempt to comment here on these matters or on certain recognized remedies open to persons who had become infected. The Polynesian conception of taboo has to be looked at from several points of view, and I think that these matters are all capable of explanation; but explanations should be considered in a general discussion of the whole subject, into which I hope to enter at a future date.

#### CHIEFS' LANGUAGES AND TABOOED WORDS

A practice is reported from some of the islands of adopting, in connection with the chiefs, or certain head chiefs, a special form of language, or method of speech, or form of address, and the interest of it, as affecting the question of the sanctity of chiefs, is that a similar practice was adopted in speaking to and of the gods.

Stair says that in Samoa there was a chiefs' language, used exclusively when speaking to a chief, whether he were addressed by another chief of a rank inferior to his own, or by a person of low rank. It was never used by a chief when speaking of himself; and persons of high rank, when addressing others, and talking of themselves, always used ordinary language<sup>1</sup>. Ella, in speaking of this matter, also says that a chief never used the court language in speaking of himself<sup>2</sup>. Hood says that the language of ceremony used in speaking to a great chief differed as much from the Samoan of common use as the old court French from the English of the present day<sup>3</sup>. Other writers also refer to the practice<sup>4</sup>. According to Gill, there was a chiefs' language, and also a high chiefs' language, so that virtually three dialects were simultaneously spoken by the same people<sup>5</sup>; and Williams refers to a language only used in

<sup>1</sup> Stair, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. vi, p. 598.

<sup>3</sup> Hood, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Erskine, p. 43. D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. iv, p. 340. Walpole, vol. ii, p. 357.

Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. iv, p. 631.

<sup>5</sup> Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 29.



speaking to chiefs of the highest rank<sup>1</sup>. Churchward also refers to the two languages, and to the presence also of a third. He gives examples of specific differences as to certain words. A commoner had *mata*—"eyes," but with a chief it was *fofonga*; a commoner's food was *ai*, but that of a chief was *taumafa*; a commoner's axe was *toi*, but that of a chief was *faasangaese*. He also gives as an example of a triple language the term applied to a man's wife. A commoner's wife was termed *ava*; the wife of the head of a family was called *faletua*; a higher class wife required the address of *tamaitai*<sup>2</sup>. A commoner might, I may point out, be the head of a family; and I think that Churchward, in speaking of the "head of a family," means a chief, and that his higher class wife was the wife of a superior chief. Buzacott says the Samoans had a distinct dialect for courtly intercourse, and always, in their politeness, addressed strangers in royal speech. Amongst themselves there were at least three distinct modes or styles of speech, corresponding to as many orders of social rank. Their salutation to their gods, principal chiefs, and distinguished strangers was *afio mai*; to their nobles it was *susu-mai*; and to common people it was *maliu-mai*<sup>3</sup>. Stair also refers to these three terms, saying that *afio* and *susu* were properly used only to chiefs of the higher ranks, whilst *maliu* was a more general term, employed in general use as a polite form of address<sup>4</sup>. He says nothing of the use of *afio* in addressing gods, and appears to regard this graduated form of address as a mere question of etiquette. Also it is after commenting on this that he goes on to say "An interesting fact connected with the Samoans is the existence of a chiefs' language," which he then explains as quoted above<sup>5</sup>; from which it would seem that he does not associate these honorific titles with the chief's language. Referring to Buzacott's statement that there were *at least* three distinct modes of speech, I may say that Hale refers to a differentiation in the mode of address, not of language, used for (1) a common man, (2) a *tulafale*, (3) a petty chief, (4) a chief of the second grade, and (5) a chief of the highest rank; and he says that the term used in respect of a chief of the highest rank would also be used in speaking of a god<sup>6</sup>. This question is discussed also by Cooper, Schultz, Stuebel, Krämer and von Bülow<sup>7</sup>, but none

<sup>1</sup> Williams, p. 458.<sup>2</sup> Churchward, pp. 402 sq.<sup>3</sup> Buzacott, p. 125.<sup>4</sup> Stair, pp. 67 sq.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 68.<sup>6</sup> Hale, p. 29.<sup>7</sup> Cooper, vol. II, p. 14. Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 48. Stuebel, pp. 97 sq. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 377. Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XII, pp. 131 sq.



of them refers to the fact, with which I am now specially concerned, that the term of address used for the principal chiefs was, as stated by Buzacott and Hale, used also for the gods.

Veeson says that in Tonga the chiefs had a polish of language and expression in a degree superior and distinct from those of the lower classes<sup>1</sup>. This might mean something or nothing; but, according to West, the chiefs had a conventional or courtly "dialect," understood and used only among and to themselves<sup>2</sup>, which perhaps goes a little further. Then I find in Baker's dictionary the following terms, which he says were applied to chiefs; *fakamonuka* (to wound), *fakataataa* (to stain with blood); and he gives the word *fakataufolofola* as meaning "to address the king," "chief language." Apparently then, there was a chief's language in Tonga; and Père A. C. gives the word *afio* [cf. Samoa] as a term of respect used for the actions of a king. It is, however, in connection with the *tuitonga* that the element of sanctity is disclosed. D'Urville says that a special language was used in speaking of the *tuitonga*<sup>3</sup>. Mariner, in enumerating customs peculiar to the *tuitonga*, includes peculiarities of speech used in regard to him. He gives as an example the use of the word *boolooki* with reference to the sickness of the *tuitonga*, whereas if the king [by which he means Finau] or any other chief were sick, he was said to be *tenga tangi*; and he adds that there were many other words that were used exclusively for him<sup>4</sup>. According to the Wesleyan missionaries, the language addressed to him was altogether different from that addressed to any other person<sup>5</sup>. A chant in an unknown language was sung at his funeral<sup>6</sup>. There are two statements as to the sacred character of the *tuitonga* language; Père A. C. says that in addressing him special terms were used composing the religious language<sup>7</sup>, and Thomson tells us that to him alone, besides the king [George], was used the peculiar language of respect by which the deity was addressed<sup>8</sup>. As regards Thomson's reference to the king, we can only speculate as to whether the sharing by the secular king of this great sign of respect was in accord with old custom or a relatively modern innovation.

In Tahiti, according to G. Forster, the dialect of the church often differed from the common dialect, and thus religion was

<sup>1</sup> Veeson, pp. 95 sq.

<sup>2</sup> D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. II, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Miss. Notices*, N.S. vol. II, p. 628.

<sup>4</sup> Père A. C., p. IX.

<sup>5</sup> West, p. 263.

<sup>6</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 45.



veiled in mysteries, especially where there were priests<sup>1</sup>. J. R. Forster says that the language used in prayer seemed to be more formal and sententious and almost totally different from that used in common life<sup>2</sup>. In their prayers, and likewise in their dramas and on other solemn occasions, the language was different from that of common conversation, and might justly be called a cadenced metrical performance<sup>3</sup>. Cook says that there was a religious language, different from that of common use<sup>4</sup>; and he is presumably speaking of the same thing when he says that in the accounts of the origin of things, learnt by priests, very few of the words used in their common dialect occurred<sup>5</sup>. So also de Bovis says that the common people rarely understood a word of the prayers and singing of the priests<sup>6</sup>. The *Duff* missionaries also refer to this peculiar language, but gathered that the difference was merely in the manner of utterance<sup>7</sup>. However this may have been, we may believe that this language or manner of utterance is what Lesson is referring to when he says that the Society Islands had a special language used by priests and chiefs<sup>8</sup>.

Lesson says also that in the Marquesas they had a special language used by priests and chiefs<sup>9</sup>, but I have found no further information on the matter concerning this group. Caillot, referring to a portion of a passage, in native version, of a Paumotuan narrative, says that it is in the old Paumotuan dialect, which was the sacred language of the chiefs and priests, though now (1912) they do not understand it<sup>10</sup>. In parts of Fiji, where are found all the ideas of the sanctity of chiefs, including divine descent<sup>11</sup>, personal sanctity and sometimes actual divinity<sup>12</sup>, and contact taboos<sup>13</sup>, there was, according to Williams, an aristocratic dialect, particularly observable in the windward districts [that is, in the east, where the Polynesian elements were strongest], where not a member of a chief's body, or the commonest acts of his life, were mentioned in ordinary phraseology, but were all hyperbolized<sup>14</sup>. Waterhouse

<sup>1</sup> Forster, *Voy.* vol. i, p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 470 sq.

<sup>3</sup> De Bovis, p. 288.

<sup>4</sup> Lesson, *Poly.* vol. iv, p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 40 note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Williams and Calvert, vol. i, pp. 24, 26.

<sup>7</sup> Williams and Calvert, vol. i, pp. 24, 233. Waterhouse, pp. 36, 402.

<sup>8</sup> Williams and Calvert, vol. i, pp. 24 sq. Waterhouse, p. 36. Lawry, pp. 266 sq. Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 58.

<sup>9</sup> Williams and Calvert, vol. i, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Forster, *Obs.* p. 546.

<sup>11</sup> Cook, vol. i, p. 220. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 223.

<sup>13</sup> Wilson, pp. 206, 336.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*



gives examples of this, and he refers to the use of the dual or plural form of language in addressing, and apparently speaking of, the chiefs; and he says this same form of address was also used with reference to the gods<sup>1</sup>. In Niue, "as in Samoa and Tonga," they had a chiefs' language, composed of words which were only used in speaking to or of the *patu-iki* or king; and examples of this are given<sup>2</sup>. In Uvea special words were used in connection with the king, the use of which was forbidden in other circumstances<sup>3</sup>; the only language permitted in presence of the king was that sacred to the gods<sup>4</sup>.

The presence in certain islands of two or more languages or methods of speech or address, and any apparent antiquity of one of them, and loss of knowledge as to its meaning, may be attributed to more causes than one, and does not in itself necessarily suggest any recognition of the sanctity of chiefs, even though one of these languages or methods has been used only in connection with them. Nor must conclusions be assumed from statements that a special language or mode of address was used by chiefs and priests, for these two classes of society were closely associated, and these statements may not carry the matter any further. The portions of the evidence to which I draw special attention are the statements as to the use of these special languages or methods of speech or address for the gods also; and it is, perhaps, in the light of evidence to this effect that we must look at statements as to the use, in connection with chiefs, of what is called "religious" or "sacred" language. The evidence is meagre in quantity, as affecting our present subject; but it is, I think, so far as it goes, an additional indication of a special sanctity which the people attributed to their chiefs.

Another significant matter is a practice, as to which we have only very limited information, of prohibiting the use for ordinary purposes of words which constituted, or formed part of, the names, not only of gods, but also of certain chiefs. I will give a few examples of this. There was in Samoa a village god called *La'ala'a*, which meant "stepping over"; and out of respect to the god the people of that village never used the word *la'ala'a* for "stepping over," substituting for it a new word *soposopo*<sup>5</sup>, "which is still a current synonym for *la'ala'a*." Again, the

<sup>1</sup> Waterhouse, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. x, p. 181; cf. vol. xi, pp. 176 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Mangeret, vol. i, p. 105. <sup>4</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xiii, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Turner, p. 33.



name of a Samoan village god was Titi usi, which meant "glittering leaf girdle," this being the visible form in which, at the new moon, he appeared to his people; out of respect for the god the name of the leaf girdle, made of *ti* leaves, was changed to *savalinga*, which meant "walking"<sup>1</sup>. So also another Samoan village had two gods, called Titi and Vave; therefore the use of the word *titi*, meaning "a leaf girdle," was discontinued and *noa* was substituted for it; and for the term *vave*, meaning "swiftly," was substituted *taalise*<sup>2</sup>. Turning now to the case of the chiefs, the term *pe'a* was the common word for the flying fox; and in the district in which one of the great sacred chiefs named Pe'a lived, or when speaking in his presence anywhere, the term used for the flying fox was *manu langi*, or "bird of heaven"<sup>3</sup>. The chief to whom Brown refers would probably be the head of the great Tonumaip'e'a family, to whom I have referred in previous pages. In Manu'a the fowl was not called by its proper name, *moa*, because that was the name of the *tuimanu'a* family; and for the word *launiu*, which meant "coconut leaf," was substituted *laupopo*, because the former word was the name applied to the coconut fly-flapper of the *tuimanu'a*<sup>4</sup>. So in the case of a chief of Matafoa, whose family had assumed the name of Maunga, or "hill," that word could not be used in his presence for the purpose of signifying a hill<sup>5</sup>. In Faleata, in the division of Tuamasanga, *ulu*, or "breadfruit," was called *foatau*, because Ulu was the name of a great orator chief there<sup>6</sup>. The meaning of Krämer's name is "shopkeeper," "grocer"; therefore the people [rendering to him as a distinguished white man the respect they would offer to a chief] would not speak of shop goods [groceries?] in his presence<sup>7</sup>.

I have no information as to the change of words out of respect to gods in the Society Islands; but we have information as to the practice as applied to chiefs. In Tahiti the sounds in the language composing the name of the king and that of his queen became taboo, and could no longer be appropriated to ordinary significations; and in consequence the original names of many of the objects with which the people were familiar used from time to time to undergo alteration<sup>8</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> Turner, p. 60.    <sup>2</sup> Brown, p. 280.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. Krämer, *H.O.S.* p. 467.

<sup>4</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 376; *H.O.S.* p. 467. Cf. Turner, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> Hood, p. 194. Cf. Erskine, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 227.

<sup>7</sup> Krämer, *H.O.S.* p. 467.

<sup>8</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 101. Cf. Tyerman, vol. 1, pp. 147 sq.



changes were made on the occasion of the king's inauguration to the actual powers of his rank; and if after this anyone used one of the old taboo words, he and his relations would be put to death<sup>1</sup>. There is a narrative of the naming of a Chilian barque, *The Pomare*, which was done in honour of queen Pomare, but was regarded by her and her people as an insult to her, and nearly caused an armed rising<sup>2</sup>. It has been stated that the taboo was removed by the death of the king, after which the objectionable word could be renewed<sup>3</sup>. *Mare* was the old Tahitian word for "cough"; but in consequence of the king Tu taking the name of Pomare [Pomare I], the word was changed to *hota*<sup>4</sup>.

There can be little doubt that the unwillingness to use for any purpose a word which was the name of a god, and the consequent necessity for linguistic changes, was based upon fear of pronouncing the name of a deity. The avoidance of speaking of a god by his name is reported from Samoa, where we are told of the dread of a god being such that his name might not be whispered<sup>5</sup>. No one in Samoa would mention the name of his tutelary animal or *aitu*<sup>6</sup>. In Rotuma they never mentioned Tangaroa by name<sup>7</sup>; nor would they do so in Nukufetau, of the Ellice group<sup>8</sup>. If they dared not address the god by his name, it was natural that they should not venture to pronounce the name of the god in connection with other matters. So far as chiefs are concerned, I have found a statement that in Mangaia kings were never addressed by their proper names<sup>9</sup>, and as to an apparent fear to pronounce the name of a superior in Uvea<sup>10</sup>. Whether the reluctance to address a chief by name, or to use for any other purpose a word which formed his name, or part of it, is to be attributed to a fear of him, corresponding to their fear of the gods, is a question on which I will not venture to speculate, beyond pointing out that, if he was actually regarded as a deity, as was the case with some of the great chiefs or kings, the fear would be natural. In any case, the similarity as regards these matters, as reported from

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. vi, p. 155. Cf. Vancouver, vol. i, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Moerenhout, vol. ii, p. 357 note.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Davies, *Dict.* p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxiv, p. 199.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 213 note 2.

<sup>7</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 467.

<sup>8</sup> Hale, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Gill, *D.L.P.* p. 379 note 1.

<sup>10</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xiii, p. 16.

some of the islands, between their attitude towards the gods and towards chiefs, or at all events, great chiefs, may, I think, be accepted as a further illustration of the sanctity with which the chiefs were supposed to be clothed.

I have not exhausted the evidence pointing to the sanctity of the chiefs. It is indicated also by certain supernatural powers with which some of them were credited, and which will be referred to later.



## CHAPTER XXXII

### THE POWERS OF CHIEFS

#### PRELIMINARY

THE subject of the powers of the chiefs has to be considered from more points of view than one. There was their political power in connection with the general administration and control of the internal affairs of the areas or people over whom they ruled, and their power relating to external matters, including such questions as those of peace and war with other areas and people. Any personal magisterial powers they possessed have to be borne in mind. We must include in the evidence to be considered any statements as to freedom to oppress individual subjects. All these matters are in a sense distinct, though doubtless they would interact one upon another. Power, also, is a relative term, and there might be several coteries or classes of persons who might wish to resist it. There might, in the case of a great chief or king, be important chiefs, heads of powerful branch families, whose relationship to the king would often be distant, based upon prior relationships between their ancestors and the royal ancestors from whom the king was descended; his own close family relatives also might sometimes resist him; there might be resistance on the part of the great body of the middle classes, exercised largely perhaps by or through the official heads of their respective families; and in all these matters the weight of public opinion might be an important factor. Then again the powers of the chiefs would doubtless vary in different parts of the same island or area, and would differ from time to time in the same area. Much would depend upon the character, ability, personality and conduct (good or bad) of a chief, as displayed both in dealing with his own subjects, in external political enterprises and intrigues, and in war; and upon the corresponding qualities of those who might oppose him.

A truly scientific and systematic investigation of the powers of the chiefs would include a careful discrimination between the different points of view from which the matter had to be



considered, and, historically, between the different antagonistic or helpful agencies or influences, as the result of which power had in places become weakened or increased; it would also include a discussion of the extent to which the power of individual chiefs had developed or become diminished in consequence of the qualifications and character of the chief, as compared with those of people by whom he was opposed. Unfortunately the meagre nature of the materials at our disposal makes such an investigation impossible; but I will try to extract from these materials such general conclusions as I am able.

There are a few fundamental matters to which I must refer in connection with the powers of the chiefs. In the first place, their position as the heads of the social groups over which they ruled would in itself give them the power possessed in a greater or less degree by the heads of all groups, great or small. Then I must draw attention to the evidence that has already appeared as to their close association with the priests, and to the fact that they themselves seem to have been the natural chief priests of the groups of which they were the heads. The amount of control over his subjects that rested with a man who could himself, or through the mouth of a priest, announce to them the wishes and intentions of the gods must have been great. There was also the supernatural power of cursing, reported from some of the islands, and which was probably recognized and used in others. Then again, there was the power of controlling food supply and of imposing a taboo, which also had a supernatural foundation. This power was in some cases used by chiefs for the benefit of the community, as we shall see in considering the control of food supply; but it was also used by them as a means of enforcing their authority over their subjects, of punishing those who had offended them, and in other ways for their own personal benefit. Their ability to exercise it in this way must have been a most formidable weapon. The subject of taboo is, however, a large one, which must be considered as a whole, and not piecemeal, and with which I hope to deal at a near date, so I must content myself here with referring to it; but it must be remembered, in reading the more specific and detailed evidence as to the powers of chiefs, how this power of taboo must often have been an important determining factor. On the other hand, the subjects of the chief had, as we shall see in a later chapter, at all events



in some of the islands, a means of defence in their power of deposing a chief who was guilty of misrule, or of excessive oppression of his people, and this also was a formidable weapon; for by deposing him they deprived him of his title; he was no longer the duly appointed official head of the group, and with this loss would go his high priesthood of the group, his special power of cursing, and the basis upon which rested his power of imposing a taboo upon the group or its individual members.

I propose to use for convenience, in the present discussion of the powers of chiefs, the following defined adjectival terminology to express the different features of their power, though I shall only be able to discriminate between these to a limited extent.

**Religious.** Power based upon assumed divinity or sanctity. I do not propose to repeat the evidence as to all this; but I shall refer to one or two actual examples of the use of religious power for the purpose of influencing the decision at a council meeting.

**Administrative.** A general term for a chief's power in administration of the affairs of the people or area of which he was the chief.

**Parliamentary.** Influence at meetings of a relatively large body of people, including middle classes, each of whom represented the family or social group of which he was the head, such as a representative *fono* of Samoa.

**Consultative.** Influence at meetings, relatively small, for consultations, held by the chief and attended only by chiefs of districts within his dominions or his own immediate relations.

**Military.** Power in connection with decisions relating to matters of war or peace.

**Diplomatic.** Power in connection with matters of external diplomacy.

**Judicial.** Power possessed by him as a magistrate.

**Personal.** Power displayed by his arbitrary treatment of individual subjects. Some statements will be found as to the compulsory seizing by chiefs of the goods of their subjects. Acts of this character may have been an informal way of enforcing a right to tribute, and it is in the chapter on "Tribute" that the evidence will be collected. Some of them may have been connected with general communism in property (a subject which will also be considered later on), the head of the group appropriating things when he wanted them.

## SAMOA

Hale (1846) says that the government of Samoa was nominally, and in part actually, in the hands of the whole body of *ali'i* or chiefs; but their power was not arbitrary, and they seldom took any important step without consulting their counsellors the *tulafale*<sup>1</sup>. Williams (1837) says that every settlement was a little independent state, governed by its own chief or

<sup>1</sup> Hale, p. 28.



chiefs, who did not appear to him to possess very extensive authority<sup>1</sup>. According to Walpole (1849), the whole island (by which I imagine he means Upolu) was divided into districts, governed by great chiefs, who had all power over their immediate vassals, and a species of sovereignty over the district too. The divisions of the island (by which he evidently means the three main divisions of Upolu) were governed by superior chiefs, who governed the chiefs of the villages; but these chiefs had a nominal rather than real power, and only in war the districts united for aggression and resistance<sup>2</sup>. Erskine (1853) says that the powerful Malietoa had in fact no more authority, from a military point of view, than any other chief, all affairs being settled by a *fono*, where each little district had its deputed speaker<sup>3</sup>. He is apparently speaking of chiefs generally when he says that a chief's authority extended only so far as his decision of character might carry him, although some of his privileges, such as exemption from contribution to presents, right to a house, etc., were well defined, and of substantial importance<sup>4</sup>. It is said in *Roivings in the Pacific* (1851) that the Samoan islands were cut up into countless chieftainships, each chief possessing absolute power over his own district<sup>5</sup>. Stair says the power of the chiefs varied considerably, and it was often very limited; but some chiefs of high rank possessed a good deal, and often used it in a very tyrannical manner. The sturdy *tulafale* spoke out plainly to those above them when needed, often saying very unpalatable things, and acting in a determined manner, should the conduct of a chief be obnoxious to them. They were a very powerful and influential class, the real authority and control of districts being frequently centred in them. He thinks that until a comparatively recent period the government had been more monarchical<sup>6</sup>. Brown discusses the matter more fully. He says the *tulafale* and *faleupolu* generally exercised greater power than the chiefs. This had been more apparent of late years than was formerly the case, and he thinks the change was due in a great measure to the subdivision of the names and titles of chiefs. In the olden days the clans were held together under one head, but of later years, as the old chiefs had died, different members of the family had each assumed the name, so that, in some instances,

<sup>1</sup> Williams, p. 529.

<sup>2</sup> Erskine, *J.R.G.S.* vol. XXI, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> *Roivings*, vol. II, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> Walpole, vol. II, pp. 351 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> Erskine, p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> Stair, p. 76.



where the title was formerly borne by one man, five or six claimed and used it. This caused jealousy between the respective claimants, and tended in no small degree to strengthen the power of the *tulafale*. The power of a chief was very limited, but it depended very much upon his personal character. If, in addition to his hereditary rank, he were a man possessed of great powers of self-assertion, he would become practically supreme in his village or district. A petty chief had little or no influence except amongst his own family and immediate connections<sup>1</sup>. Then again, he says that the *tulafale* were a very powerful and influential class; in fact, the real control of the district was often exercised by them. He would be a very bold chief who dared to act in direct opposition to the advice of the *tulafale* of his town or district. The *tulafale* were in ordinary cases the special advisers of the chiefs; but they also exercised a real authority, quite independent of the will of the chief himself<sup>2</sup>. According to one of the French missionaries, every Samoan village had chiefs who governed their subjects as they thought fit, or rather they hardly governed them, and the subjects did pretty much as they pleased. The authority of the chiefs was only shown when certain thefts or crimes, such as adultery, homicide, or grave insult to a chief, had to be punished. If a quarrel arose between different villages, the principal persons of the village regarded as the chief place of the canton intervened to make peace<sup>3</sup>. Hübner, speaking of the constitution of Tuamasanga, says the heads of families, *ali'i* and *tulafale*, alone had political rights; these were exercised by them at a village or district assembly, according as the interests of a village or a district were concerned, the authorities of these assemblies being invested with legislative and judicial powers<sup>4</sup>. According to Ella, the powers and prerogatives of a chief in the ordinary affairs of life were little more than nominal, the government having been almost democratic, and each man acting for the most part according to his own will<sup>5</sup>. Friedlaender says a chief had no administrative power over the land which did not belong actually to his family<sup>6</sup>.

There is in the German literature a good deal of detailed local information, a comparative examination of which would demonstrate the way in which the relative powers of the chiefs on the

<sup>1</sup> Brown, pp. 285 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 432 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XLIV, pp. 367 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Hübner, vol. II, pp. 358 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 631; cf. vol. VI, pp. 597 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Friedlaender, *Z.f.E.* vol. XXXI, p. 21.



one hand and the *tulafale* on the other differed in different places; but the introduction of these into this chapter would in each case involve so much detailed explanation that it would prolong the chapter considerably. Stuebel, however, makes a general statement that the usage was not the same in all villages—by which he evidently means what I have called village districts—of Samoa. In some villages the word and rule of the *tulafale sili* [the higher *tulafale*] were great, whilst in others they were weak, and those of the chiefs were preponderant. He refers to Leulumoenga (in Aana), Lufilufi and Aleipata (in Atua), and Safotulafai (in Savai'i) as examples of places in which the power of the *tulafale* preponderated<sup>1</sup>, these all being, I may point out, important places. Then again, he says that each village had its chiefs; but the rights of authority and influence of these chiefs were different; some had complete sovereignty over the village and the lives of those settled there, whilst the rights of authority of others extended over nobody and were narrowly limited<sup>2</sup>. I may say that the information contained in these two statements was obtained from two different native sources. Schultz deals with the same subject. He refers to what he apparently regards as having been an original dominating power of the chiefs, with the *tulafale* as their servants, and then goes on to say that later on in many villages [my village districts] the *tulafale* succeeded in regaining their power and in obtaining political influence. In these places the chiefs had to be content with their (empty) privileges. Elsewhere, power was equally divided between "chiefs" and "speakers." In a few places the chiefs were supreme, and he gives, as examples of places where this was so, Solosolo, Saluafata and Lotofanga (in Atua). In these places the activity of the "speakers" was confined to the control of ceremonial systems and other matters, to which Schultz refers, and which are quite distinct from political or administrative work<sup>3</sup>. Schultz also refers, as indicative of the absence of "absolutism," to the fact that the "deciding" influence of the one or more *matai* [heads of groups], who might, he points out, be either chiefs or *tulafale*, was moderated by the consulting voices of the others; and he tells of the private consultations and discussions prior to a *fono*, between the heads of the different families, in which they endeavoured to convince one another, and so avoid disputes, in consequence of which, every one at the *fono* knew before-

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 107.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 89.<sup>3</sup> Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 46.



hand, more or less, what was going to be said<sup>1</sup>. Von Bülow says that a Samoan king or *tupu* was debarred from representing an opinion other than that which the first speakers of the *tumua* [the village district which was the seat of government of his dominions] who had selected him, should suggest to him. So also the head of a district might not act or carry out the business of his office otherwise than in the way forced upon him by the government place of the district<sup>2</sup>. Again, von Bülow says that the head of a *fuaiala* [my village?] in all his undertakings and arrangements concerning the area over which he was the head took counsel with the rest of the heads of families of the area; and that the head of a village [my village district?], though its real ruler, could not in any way act on his own responsibility, but had to take council with the leaders of the *fuaiala*<sup>3</sup>. Elsewhere von Bülow says that the *ali'i* governed the village in common with the *tulafale*; but at the same time the opinion of the *ali'i* (plural) decided for the most part the issues in consultation<sup>4</sup>.

Krämer is speaking of the great title chiefs, including especially those of the three main divisions of Upolu, when he says that unbounded as was the veneration and awe of those title chiefs, their actual administrative power was relatively small—*Le roi règne, il ne gouverne pas*. The king in Samoa (he is still speaking of these same chiefs) was, properly speaking, only prominent in times of war, particularly when, insulted as a king, he declared war against another district, as *tuiaana* against Tuamasanga. In such a case he might rest assured that his whole land of Aana would give him military service. On the other hand, he was fairly powerless if in his own land parties or villages were in conflict with each other. As regarded internal matters, the whole governing power in times of peace lay in the hands of the orators or *tulafale* in contradistinction to the chiefs or *ali'i*. These orators were in general the servants of the chiefs, of whom each used to have a special one for himself alone, who was his voice in council. But the power of the chiefs and orators varied very much in their mutual relationship. There were also *tulafale* who were quite independent, the so-called orator chiefs, *tulafale-ali'i*, who were co-ordinated with the chiefs, and even surpassed the latter in power<sup>5</sup>. Again,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXIII, p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIV, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 374.

<sup>5</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. I, p. 10.



he says that the king had nothing to do with the administration of the internal affairs of the kingdom (he is now speaking of the *tafa'ifa*, or king of all Samoa). Each district ruled itself<sup>1</sup>. On another page he says that the king in Manu'a had still greater honours than in Upolu, and probably more power; but, as everywhere else, the influence of the king was not great<sup>2</sup>.

Krämer gives examples of the variations in the balance of power in Samoa. At the time of which he speaks the orator chiefs (the principal repositories of power of the *tulafale* class in the larger areas) were more powerful than the chiefs in the island of Tutuila<sup>3</sup>, and in the island of Savai'i<sup>4</sup>. In one of the districts of the Manu'a group, chiefs directly descended from the *tuimanu'a* were, speaking generally, very powerful; but, in all matters concerning the king [I think he is referring to the election of the king], the orator chiefs were more so<sup>5</sup>. In the Atua division of the island of Upolu we find curious differences. Thus in the Amaile village district of Atua the chiefs were all powerful, the *tulafale* there having no power, and being in fact only servants of the chiefs<sup>6</sup>; and in the great Atua district of Anoamaa the administrative power was in the hands of the chiefs, except as regarded the *tumua* [capital] village of Lufilufi<sup>7</sup>. The position in Aleipata, another large district of Atua, was peculiar; here the administrative power was entirely in the hands of the orator chiefs, two of whom, the *matua* (eldest), one in control of the upper part of the district, and the other of the lower part, were particularly important, and even decided in matters of war. The chiefs as a body could not criticize the government of these people; but two chiefs, one in each of these two parts of the district, could do so; they bore the title of *sa'ofetala'i*, and could influence the decisions of the *matua*, and even alter them<sup>8</sup>.

I propose to commence the consideration of the subject of the powers of the chiefs of Samoa with the evidence to which I have referred already, so far as it touches an important point affecting the question; after which I will try to discuss the matter systematically. We must bear in mind the method of what I may call local self-government, which seems to have been a fundamental feature of the political systems of Samoa, as explained in the chapter dealing with Samoan "Political

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 279.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 377.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 391 note 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 279 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 324.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 282.



Areas and Systems," and as further developed in the chapters on "Social and Local Grouping," "Council Meetings," and "Administration of Justice."

Neither the king of a main division, such as Aana, nor the general *fono* of that division would as a rule interfere with the purely internal affairs of the districts into which it was divided, and each of which would have its own head chief, or other official head and its own governing *fono*; their controlling power would, speaking generally at all events, be confined to matters within a district which affected, directly or indirectly, the welfare of the entire division. It follows that, except in matters so affecting the whole division, the king would, as a rule, only be able to exercise his political authority over his own district, he being its official head, as well as head over the whole division. A corresponding limitation would apply to the governmental powers of a head chief of a district over the village districts of which it was composed, and so downwards to the smallest unit of a domestic household with the father at its head. Presumably this limitation of the power of a king of a division, or a head chief of a district, or head of a smaller area, would not prevent him, at all events after consultation with the *fono*, from punishing any person or persons of any self-governing area forming a part of his dominions for any offence committed against himself personally or his family, or doing anything which could be regarded as subversive to his rule and dignity, as this would be an offence against the welfare of the constitution of the division or district or smaller area, as the case might be. The need for action of this character would, however, I should think, be relatively rare, except in cases of deliberate rebellion, or acts intended to lead to it.

One effect of the restrictions involved by this system of local self-government would be that the outward and visible signs of the exercise of authority by a king or chief, who was in fact possessed of considerable power, would be relatively small. Loosely-worded statements by writers might thus often be misleading, and in some cases the observers themselves might have been misled, and their evidence be more or less contradictory or confusing. I will draw attention to a few statements in the evidence which are quite consistent with the political systems of Samoa, but some of which, taken by themselves, might create a misconception, or be difficult to interpret, and will suggest, in brackets, explanations of them. Walpole



says that districts were governed by great chiefs who had all power over their immediate vassals, and a species of sovereignty over the district, and refers to war. [That means that in the case of a district, divided into sub-districts, the chief of the district would have direct control, in purely internal affairs, only over his own sub-district, but would have, as the chief of the whole district, controlling powers over the district. So also the king of a division—say Aana—would, under a corresponding system, only have a limited control over the districts, with their head chiefs, of which the division was composed, though, in case of war with—say Atua—he could, as Walpole says, call up all Aana.] Erskine's statement that the great king Malietoa had no more military power than any other chief, if taken literally, is obviously misleading. [What he should have said was that the power of the king was subject to the same limitations, arising from the political systems of Samoa, as was that of any other chief; and that, just as any chief would generally lay a question of peace or war before a *fono* of the area under his rule, so the Malietoa would consult a *fono* of all Tuamasanga.] The statement in *Roivings in the Pacific* as to countless chieftainships, and that each chief had absolute power in his own district, though exaggerated in the bold use of the word "absolute," is correct in principle [if the term "his own district" is used with the qualified meaning I am suggesting]. Brown's reference to the absence of power in a petty chief, except amongst his own family and immediate connections [can be construed in the same way as that of Walpole, though he is speaking of a smaller group]. The French missionary says that the chief of a village hardly governed his subjects, who did pretty much as they pleased; and refers to intervention in cases of crime, or quarrels between villages. [The village would be composed of a number of families, domestic, and perhaps consanguine; the internal affairs of each of these families would come under the jurisdiction of its own official head, and the chief would not interfere with them, unless some offence were committed which affected the peace of the village as a whole; and "grave insult" to the chief himself, and "crimes such as adultery and homicide," which might give rise to fighting and disturbance within the village, would often be such an offence. I think intervillage quarrels would be dealt with by the *fono* of the principal village of the district.] I think that Ella's statement that each man acted for the most part according to



his own will [must be interpreted in the same way]. Friedlaender's statement as to administrative power *over land* touches a question which I cannot discuss here<sup>1</sup>. According to Krämer, the king of each of the three main divisions of Upolu had only relatively small administrative power, they being prominent, properly speaking, only in time of war. [This matter has already been discussed.] He also says that the *tafa'ifa*, or king of all Samoa, had nothing to do with the administration of the internal affairs of his kingdom, each district ruling itself. [The *tafa'ifa* had, as we have seen, to be the holder of the *tuiaana* and *tuiaua* titles and of two Tuamasangan titles, and he would have, in the respective divisions and districts ruled by the holders of those titles, whatever administrative duties the heads of these divisions and districts possessed. *Tafa'ifa* was not a title in the same family sense; it was simply a term used to designate the person who, by obtaining the four titles was qualified to be, and had become, king of all Samoa, and this would not carry any *natural* titular power in excess of that which attended the holding of each of the four titles. In Savai'i and Tutuila he would have no titular duties of government beyond such as arose from *aina* relationships of any families there who were branches of one or another of the four social groups whose titles he held.]

It is suggested by Stair, Brown and Schultz that the chiefs as a class had at one time been more powerful than they were in what we may call modern times, and that this power had subsequently passed more into the hands of the *tulafale*. I should imagine that in the very distant past, when the social and political systems of the ancestors of the Samoans had been of a somewhat primitive character, the government of a family or group would be to a large extent a matter of consultation between members of the family or group, or some of them, and that the *fono* of Samoa would probably have had its origin in a continuance or development of this system, increased power of the chief having had a more recent origin; but Stair, Brown and Schultz are evidently speaking of a change the other way of much more recent date.

Both Erskine and Brown point to the personal character of a chief as an important factor in determining the extent of his power. There are also statements pointing to differences in

<sup>1</sup> It raises the question of control of land and food supply which will be considered in later chapters.



different districts, etc., between the powers of the chiefs on the one hand and those of the orators on the other. The few examples that I have given illustrating this are sufficient to indicate a state of affairs which would be almost bound to arise; they do not always quite tally with one another, but no doubt the situation varied from time to time in the same area; and so far as Krämer is concerned, I may say that his habit of using the term "orator" to include both a mere orator and an orator chief, and of mixing up *tulafale* and *tulafale ali'i*, sometimes makes his statements rather difficult to interpret.

I think we must conclude that, notwithstanding the great powers possessed by the chiefs in certain districts, the general and combined effect of the evidence, taken as a whole, is to indicate that their administrative and parliamentary power (I am now using my defined terminology) was often curtailed largely by the necessity of acting in accordance with the views of their subjects, expressed in private discussion with their immediate advisers, and at the *fono*. I draw attention, as regards this matter, to the evidence that has appeared in the chapters on the "Middle and Lower Classes" and on "Council Meetings." The *tulafale* seem to have acted largely as advisers of the chiefs; and though the consultants of the great chiefs or kings appear to have been, as a rule at all events, *tulafale ali'i*, who seem to have been chiefs or in some cases, perhaps, the offspring of marriages between chiefs and daughters of *tulafale*, and therefore more or less closely related to the chiefs, the political relationship between a king and his *tulafale ali'i* consultants would in certain respects be essentially the same as that between a chief of a smaller area and his *tulafale* advisers. Then again, these *tulafale ali'i*, in dealing with the affairs of the areas of which they themselves were the heads, would have their own *tulafale* advisers, whose views would often influence them in the counsel they offered to the kings. I may point out also, as regards parliamentary powers, that the opinions offered to a king or chief by his own advisers would doubtless influence in a substantial degree his views as to the matters to be recommended at a *fono* of the general body of the representative heads of families of his dominions; and the accounts given of the proceedings at these *fono* make it clear, I think, that these people, reflecting public opinion, had to be convinced; and as to this, I may refer to Schultz's mention of the moderating power of the "consulting voices" of the



others. This power of the *fono* as a whole is also indicated by the private consultations prior to the meeting of which Schultz speaks, and as to which I have, in the chapter on "Council Meetings" given the evidence of Stair and Churchward. I think that in internal matters, both administrative and parliamentary, the kings and chiefs were, in most districts, far from being autocrats; they had to submit to a considerable extent to the opinions of their subjects.

But I go a step further, and suggest that this submission was probably partly voluntary and not compulsory, or, at all events, was the natural consequence of the system of government that prevailed. A minor chief, ruling over a relatively small group of people, would be more or less closely related to many of them, and his personal knowledge of them and of the day-to-day detailed affairs of their lives, and their knowledge of him, would be more or less intimate. He would probably therefore be disposed in many cases to take a personal interest in matters connected with their well-being and government. But how about the great chiefs, heads of large and widely spread groups, and the still greater kings? The personal knowledge of his subjects other than those in his immediate neighbourhood, possessed by one of these great chiefs or kings, would be confined mainly to such of them as happened to be closely related to him, and to head chiefs of districts, and probably some minor chiefs, and no doubt certain powerful representative *tulafale*; and the efforts of the great chief, so far at all events as these *tulafale* were concerned, would often be based upon little more than a desire to please them in matters referring to internal questions, so as to secure their loyal support of his prerogatives, and especially in time of war. He would, owing to the system of local self-government, know little or nothing of the internal affairs of the districts or villages which these minor chiefs and *tulafale* represented, and would have but little interest in them. It is reasonable therefore to imagine that, as regards the internal matters of these districts and villages, he would have to depend largely on his advisers, whose duty it would be to keep in touch with internal affairs and politics.

I may say, as regards this subject, that the general impression left upon my mind by the study of the history of Samoa is that the great chiefs were interested mainly in themselves and their dynasties, their dignity, power and glory. The matters in which



they seem to have exerted themselves mainly were such things as struggles for power with other great chiefs, the fortification of their own power by means of diplomacy and advantageous matrimonial alliances, insults or wrongs against themselves or their families by other great chiefs, and the military operations which these struggles for power and the vindication of their dignity would involve. Under these circumstances it would hardly be a matter of surprise if the inclinations of the great chiefs were, so far as the conduct of the internal affairs of their dominions was concerned, to act so as to strengthen themselves and their dynasties, and if their attitude towards internal affairs was directed largely towards the securing of these ends.

It is impossible for us to put in a balance and weigh the religious powers of the chiefs, great and small, though we have seen how clear and widespread was the recognition of the sanctity of the great chiefs and kings. A chief who not only was the natural high priest of his people, but acted as such, could hardly fail to have immense power by virtue of his supposed close association with the gods, and his ability to ascertain and interpret their wishes and intentions. Even if the chief did not act himself as priest, if the co-operation between the chiefs and the priesthood was as close as it appears to have been, a chief would secure religious power in an indirect way. I may draw attention, as regards this subject, to what I have already said about the great *alataua*, and especially to Krämer's account of the religious *séances* held by the *alataua* prior to a *fono* of all Aana, and to Churchward's reference to what appears to have been a similar practice in Tuamasanga. The two divining priests of Aana, referred to by Krämer, were, as we have seen, great orator chiefs; they were both closely associated with the royal family of Aana, and indeed were prominent members of the "House of the Nine," with whom rested the election of the *tuiaana*, and who took the lead in a *fono* of all Aana. They had an all-night sitting, in which they obtained divine inspiration, after which the great *fono* of all Aana was held; these two *alataua* then revealed to the *fono*—not, apparently, only at a war *fono*, but at any great *fono*—the instruction obtained by them from the gods upon the subject to be debated. There can be little doubt that the religious performances by certain great chiefs of Tuamasanga, referred to by Churchward, would precede a *fono*, called to deal with important matters, in that division. It needs, I think,



no argument on my part, to demonstrate the immense influence upon the decision of the *fono* that might be secured by these great priest-chiefs, coming there red-hot from their consultation with the gods, held only a few hours previously; and I suspect that the views of the gods would often bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the king and the *alataua* chiefs themselves. We do not know to what extent this religious pressure was put upon the people in one way or another with reference to internal affairs; but if it was done largely, we can only be surprised that the powers of the chiefs in such matters were not greater than they appear to have been.

The subject of consultative power can only be considered in the light of the limited amount of evidence we possess. The discussions between the ruling chiefs and their privy councils were presumably held in private, and we know very little about them. There were two bodies of people to whom I must draw attention—the *usoali'i*, of whom I have spoken in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes" and the *faletui*, to whom I have referred in the chapter on "Council Meetings." We have seen that the *usoali'i* were chiefs below a great chief, as a rule, apparently, related to him, as indeed the term *uso* suggests, who acted as his brothers in council, helping him in the exercise of his office, decided his affairs and those of his children, considered among themselves the question of succession on his death, as to which they made recommendations to the elective orators or orator chiefs, and were themselves possible successors. I have only referred to the *faletui* whose collective name means the house of the *-tui* (a title given by way of prefix to the great chiefs or kings), in a very general way in discussing the question of council meetings, as their deliberations were quite distinct from the large *fono* of representative orators with which the chapter was primarily concerned; but I must now say something more about them. Krämer tells us that the *faletui* served as counsellors of title chiefs in matters relating to war, and must be distinguished from the *faleupolu* or council of orators<sup>1</sup>, thereby referring to the *fono* councils of representatives. Apparently *faletui* was a general Samoan term for bodies of consultant chiefs, which were known by different names in different parts of Samoa, and I shall refer to these separately. Their labours do not appear to have been confined to questions of war, though

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 478.



perhaps this was a subject as to which they were more specially consulted.

Beginning with the division of Aana, I refer to the tradition concerning the *tuiaana* Ngalumalemana, which has been mentioned in the chapter on "Matrilineal Descent," and in particular to the reference in that tradition to the *aloali'i*. All the chiefs descended from this *tuiaana* were called *aloali'i*<sup>1</sup>. These chiefs formed a council which was heard in matters of government<sup>2</sup>. They were consulted in matters of war<sup>3</sup>. An assembly of *aloali'i*, if it was in any way complete, was listened to by the *tumua* [Leulumoenga the chief council place and seat of government of all Aana]<sup>4</sup>. They took counsel together when there was to be a grant of the *papa* [a great title; it refers in this case to the *tuiaana* title], and it was only after they had come to a unanimous decision that they could impart their wishes to the *tumua*<sup>5</sup>. If there was a question of war, the chiefs met together—the *tuiaana* and the *aloali'i*, who dwelt mainly in Nofoali'i, Faleasiu, Samatau, Falease'ela and Tufulele, where were the *faleaana*, the chiefs' houses which formed the *faletui* or crown council<sup>6</sup>. These village districts would not, it may be assumed, be the only habitations of descendants of Ngalumalemana, and indeed Krämer does not suggest that they were so; but his reference is interesting as regards some of them. In the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping" I quoted Krämer's statement that there were four important *ainga* or branch families of the *tuiaana* line—namely the Satuala, the Taulangi, the Tauaana, and the Mavaenga, and gave some particulars about these families and the village districts which they occupied; and it will be seen, on reference to that chapter, that Nofoali'i was one of the chief seats of the Satuala family, Faleasiu was the principal home of the Mavaenga family, and Falease'ela was one of the two seats of the Taulangi family. We are therefore able to identify three of the five village districts to which Krämer refers with three of these four great branch families, and may at least, though the connecting evidence is not complete, recognize that the principal *aloali'i* chiefs who consulted with the *tuiaana* were probably the heads

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, p. 477. Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XI, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, p. 477.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XI, p. 116.

<sup>6</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, p. 149. I think "houses" here refers to the groups of people, and not to buildings.



of the leading families of Aana. I may say that Krämer quotes Stair as having stated that it was the business of Nofoli'i to call the war *fono*<sup>1</sup>, by which he probably means that the Satuala family, no doubt in consultation with the *tuiaana*, took the lead in matters of war.

In Atua there was a council of the highest chiefs, the privy council, called the *faleatua* [the *faletui* of Atua], which assembled after midnight, who took council with the *tuiaatua* with reference to matters of war. These *faleatua* were Saluafata, Solosolo, Falefa, Luatuannu'u, Samusu, Lotofanga and Lepa<sup>2</sup>. It will be seen, on reference to the map, that these village districts were spread right round the coast, but I do not propose in this case to trace out the families with which these village districts must be associated, as Krämer's reference to "the highest chiefs" is sufficient for our purpose.

In Manu'a there was a body of men called the *anoalo*, who were to Manu'a what the *aloali'i* were in Upolu [? Aana]. Speaking generally, they were chiefs directly descended from the kings of Manu'a. Their voice, as a unanimous body, was powerful, though the orators as a unanimous body were more so in matters connected with the kingship<sup>3</sup>. [I think he is referring to the orator chiefs who elected the *tuimanu'a*.]

I must refer, as regards the division of Tuamasanga, to the story, already recorded, of the intervention of Nafanua (the ancestral goddess of the Tonumaip'e'a family of Savai'i) in the internal disputes in the division, one of the results of which was that the seat of government was transferred from Malie, the ancestral seat of the Malietoa, to Afenga. I have never been able to reach a clear understanding as to the subsequent relationship between Malie, which continued to be the home of the Malietoa, and Afenga, though apparently *fono* were sometimes held, for certain purposes, at the former village district, and not the latter; indeed Krämer's statements on the matter are confusing. I can therefore only speak with uncertainty as to Tuamasanga in connection with our present subject. Krämer says that the great *fono* of Tuamasanga was *generally* [my italics] held at Afenga; but that concerning many matters, indeed in most, and particularly concerning war, Malie was also consulted as to whether, when, or where, the *fono* should be held<sup>4</sup>. I have not completed the quotation, as the latter portion of Krämer's

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 391 note 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 222.



statement forms part of the source of my perplexity, and so might, taken by itself, and without an investigation of the whole matter, and probably a communication with Krämer himself, be misleading; but I may say that he tells us (on the same page) that when Malietoa was insulted [an event which would raise the question of war] the *fono* was held at Afenga. A conceivable explanation of the matter is that on certain questions, and especially those concerning war, there would first be a consultation at Malie and a council of chiefs, and that if they decided on war, the *fono* of representatives would be called and be held at Afenga, to lay the subject before the people; and if this is correct, we have in Tuamasanga a system comparable with that of the other great divisions of Samoa.

These *usoali'i* and *faletui* appear from the evidence to have been groups of chiefs with whom great chiefs took counsel. The *usoali'i*, or most of them, were evidently relations of the great chief, and probably discussed matters affecting the interests of himself personally and his family, including themselves, and the family dynasty and prerogatives, looking at them rather from the internal family point of view than from that of his dominions as a whole, except so far as the latter affected the former. The *faletui* were ruling chiefs, heads of important areas within his dominions, whose personal relationship with the king, as I shall here call him, was not necessarily close, they being holders of old titles of nobility derived from their ancestors, who had been relatives of the royal ancestors of the king. They also would generally have a common interest with the king in wishing to support and strengthen the royal and aristocratic prerogatives and dignity, to defend the kingdom from external attacks, and to strengthen it by successful diplomacy and intrigue, and, when necessary, by military operations; but their personal relationship to the king, and their governmental connection with him was evidently different from that of the *usoali'i*. Differences of opinion and disputes may well have arisen between the king and his *usoali'i*, or some of them; but these would, I imagine, usually be rather domestic in character, in the sense that state questions would not enter into the discussions, except so far as they affected the family interests. The king and his *usoali'i* would generally be looking at matters from the same point of view, having a common interest to serve. The position between the king and the *faletui*, as I conceive it, would be quite different. They were a powerful



nobility, looking at affairs from a wider and more national point of view; they would often have large axes of their own, or specially affecting their own districts, to grind. In cases of difference of opinion between them and the king they must have had immense power, as the representative heads of the big groups of people, with sub-groups and sub-sub-groups, over which they ruled, and one would imagine that the king could hardly hope to carry out, or even venture to submit to a general *fono* of his subjects, an important proposal of which the *faletui*, or an important section of them, disapproved. There is no evidence as to the consultative power of a king; but I think we should probably be right in believing that, as between him and his *usoali'i*, it would be relatively great, and as between him and the *faletui* it would be relatively small. It would, of course, depend in part, in both cases, and especially in the latter, upon his own strength of character and ability.

The question of the combined power in all matters, administrative, parliamentary and diplomatic, of the king and his chiefs, acting together, over his and their subjects, is another matter. Their diplomatic power would presumably be great, as negotiations with other rulers and political intrigues would, I imagine, be matters with which they would often deal themselves, without consulting the great representative *fono*, until at all events a definite proposition had to be put before it. But as regards administrative and parliamentary power, we have to bear in mind that the general weight of the evidence appears to indicate that in most parts of Samoa the power of the chiefs as a class was subject to a greater or less amount of control by the *fono* of the people or their representatives.

I may say as to the military powers of the chiefs, that, setting aside internal civil wars, arising as a rule from disputes as to the succession, I have found no actual statement of what were the more usual causes of wars; but the history of Samoa seems to indicate that war generally had an aristocratic origin. The cause of it was usually a dispute between one great chief and another, which might in some cases lead to an act of aggression by one or the other of them; competition for power, personal offences, such as the seduction by one chief of the wife of another, murder in high life, or some personal affront, seem to have been the things which more commonly led to hostilities. We may therefore believe that, as between a chief and his subjects, the proposal of war would generally, if not almost



always, be made in the first instance by him, and not by them. Then, if we turn to Krämer's accounts of the *faletui*, we find that he says that they served as counsellors of title chiefs in matters relating to war. Thus, in speaking of the *aloali'i* of Aana, he refers specifically to their consultation on questions of war; he does so also as regards the *faleatua* of Atua; he tells us that the *anoalo* of Manu'a were the equivalent of the *aloali'i*; according to my suggested interpretation, the chiefs of Tuamasanga first discussed questions of war. Apparently these councils of great chiefs, or some of them, dealt also with internal matters; but we may believe that they were specially consulted as to proposals for war, and this would be necessary, as the king could hardly plunge into hostilities without making sure first of the approval of the leading chiefs of his dominions. It seems clear that they first arrived at a decision, and then, no doubt, laid their proposals before the great *fono* of representative orators; the statements of Turner, Stair and Brown as to this latter practice have appeared in the chapter on "Council Meetings," and the custom is indicated by Krämer's statements that an assembly of *aloali'i* imparted its wishes to and was listened to by the *tumua*, and that the *anoalo* of Manu'a were similar to the *aloali'i*, and by my interpretation of the practice in Tuamasanga for Malie to be consulted as to whether a *fono* should be held. The steps taken in advance by the kings and their aristocratic advisers for laying the matter before the *fono* would doubtless enable them to submit strong arguments; and their combined influence, strengthened perhaps by the advice of the *alataua*, after ascertaining the will of the gods, would have great power in persuading their subjects to approve of an entry into war. I think that their military power, as I have called it, was probably great.

In considering the judicial powers of the chiefs we must refer to the evidence that has appeared in the chapter on "Administration of Justice." It appears that the *fono* acted at times as courts of justice, but that the chiefs and other heads of families or groups also exercised magisterial functions; but the evidence does not enable us to arrive at any definite conclusions as to the extent to which these duties were performed by the chiefs. It is possible that in some cases, where writers have attributed magisterial powers to the chiefs, they only acted as presidents of *fono* courts by which the questions were discussed.



As regards the personal powers of the chiefs, we have Stair's statement that they were often very tyrannical; but if this was so, I think as a rule it would be the case mainly in their own immediate districts. There is not sufficient evidence upon which to form a conclusion as to this matter.

The evidence introduced at the beginning of this discussion was to a large extent general, referring to chiefs as a whole, whilst the evidence as to bodies of chiefs who consulted with the great chiefs primarily touches the powers of the latter. I have no further testimony to offer as to the powers, as between themselves and their subjects, of the minor chiefs; but we may well believe that any conclusions at which we may be justified in arriving as regards the great chiefs would to some extent be correct with reference to the minor chiefs, and that their relative powers also would fluctuate and vary in different village districts and villages.

## TONGA

I must, before referring to the statements as to the powers of chiefs in Tonga, draw attention to a possibility of misunderstanding references to the "king," arising from the uncertainty as to whether writers are speaking of the *tuitonga* or sacred king, or the *hau*, or secular king. I do not think the point is vital to our present purpose.

Cook was told that the king [Cook always means by this the *tuitonga*] had the lives and property of his subjects in his hands<sup>1</sup>. He speaks of an occasion on which, having come upon a party fishing in their canoes, the king made them hand over the whole of their catch<sup>2</sup>; and of an offence committed by some chiefs, the king's brother and others, in remaining all night with him (Cook), without the king's permission, for which he gave them—men of not less than thirty years of age—such a reprimand as brought tears to their eyes<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, he tells us that the king [the *tuitonga*] complained of some of his chiefs, especially his father-in-law, uncle-in-law, and brother-in-law who acted like petty sovereigns, and thwarted his measures<sup>4</sup> and that he told Cook that if he (the king) became a bad man, which meant, as Cook understood it, if he did not govern according to law or custom, he would be put to death<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. v, p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 304.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 424.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 429. Cf. Ellis (Cook), vol. 1, p. 114.



Cook says that the lower orders of the people had neither property nor safety of their persons, except at the will of the chiefs, under whose rule they lived<sup>1</sup>. Forster says that the obedience and submission with which the people revered their chiefs were evident proofs that their government, though perhaps not perfectly despotic, was far from being democratic<sup>2</sup>. Ellis (of Cook's party) tells us that the lower class was kept in great subjection by the chiefs, who did just what they pleased with them; as an example of this, he says that Finau, wishing to see how far gunshot would reach, told the English to fire at a canoe that happened to be passing, and to kill the man in it. On their remonstrating, he said the man was only a slave, and fit for nothing else<sup>3</sup>. Veeson says the chiefs exercised arbitrary power over the lower orders<sup>4</sup>. Labillardière several times saw chiefs openly take possession of property belonging to other people<sup>5</sup>. According to the *Duff* missionaries, the government in Tonga, as in Tahiti, was evidently in a great measure aristocratic, but the power of the chiefs was more despotic in Tongatabu, although exercised with less outrage to private property<sup>6</sup>; the head chiefs of the three great districts of Tongatabu each claimed a right of disposal over the lives and property of his own subjects, which the missionaries had seen exercised most despotically<sup>7</sup>. Turning now to a somewhat more recent period, Mariner says it was the duty of every man to obey the orders of his superior chief in all instances, good or bad, unless it were to fight against a chief still superior<sup>8</sup>. He refers to a case in which an under-chief of the district of Hihifo, in Tongatabu, wished to visit Finau, but had first to obtain the permission of the head chief of Hihifo<sup>9</sup>. Waldegrave (1834) says that Finau [of Mariner's time] was absolute, and his orders were most strictly and instantly obeyed<sup>10</sup>. According to Hale (1846), the power of the chiefs in Tonga was greater than in Samoa<sup>11</sup>. Lawry (1850) says that "formerly" a chief dealt death to whom he would with the end of his club, and a man who was found refractory was quickly dispatched<sup>12</sup>. West (1865) tells us that the power of the *tuikanokubolu* [the *hau* or secular king] extended over life, liberty and property. It was a complete

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. v, p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis (Cook), vol. i, pp. 115 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Labillardière, vol. ii, p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 269.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> Hale, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Forster, *Voy.* vol. i, p. 469.

<sup>8</sup> Veeson, p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> Wilson, p. liii.

<sup>10</sup> Mariner, vol. ii, p. 137.

<sup>11</sup> Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. iii, p. 192.

<sup>12</sup> Lawry, *F.F.I.* (1), p. 14.



despotism, modified to a certain extent by certain customs, and by the influence of a coterie of higher chiefs<sup>1</sup>. According to Young (1854), Tonga constituted an absolute monarchy, which was decidedly despotic. The king had the power of life and death. Each clan had its chief, and that chief was the governor or lieutenant in the town or village where he lived. The king ruled the chiefs, and the chiefs ruled the people<sup>2</sup>. Williams (1837) says that in Tongatabu the chiefs were elected, and their power limited, while in the surrounding islands they were hereditary and despotic<sup>3</sup>. One of the French missionaries (1845) tells us that the chiefs determined the lives of their subjects, whom they could slay according to their caprice for faults which only deserved a slight reprimand<sup>4</sup>. Père A. C., in his dictionary, says that the king enjoyed absolute power; all the chiefs of the district were subject to him. The chiefs had sovereign authority over their subjects, and often put them to death for the most futile motives<sup>5</sup>.

The general weight of this evidence of the autocratic conduct of the kings and chiefs is considerable, but I draw attention to a few statements which suggest a limitation of this power. According to two of Cook's statements, the *tuitonga* was once being thwarted by some of his chiefs, and if he did not govern according to law or custom he would be killed. Forster puts the matter of the chiefs' power somewhat mildly in saying that the government, though perhaps not perfectly despotic, was far from being democratic. The *Duff* missionaries only say the government was in a great measure aristocratic, and that though more despotic in Tongatabu than in Tahiti, there was in the former place less outrage to private property. West tells us that the power of the *tuikanokubolu* was modified to a certain extent by certain customs, and by the influence of a group of the higher chiefs. Hale only says the power of the chiefs was greater than in Samoa. Lawry speaks of the club-law of the chiefs as only having been exercised in earlier days. I do not quite understand Williams's distinction between elected and hereditary chiefs. It was a general or widespread custom in Polynesia, including Tonga, for succession to be settled by election, but it was hereditary in the sense that it passed to a member of the same family. It is with these incidental statements as to limitations to the autocratic power of the chiefs in my mind

<sup>1</sup> West, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Young, *S.W.* p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, p. 529.

<sup>4</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XVIII, p. 424.

<sup>5</sup> Père A. C., p. ix.



that I refer to what has appeared in the chapter on Tongan *fono*, and my discussion of it. If it was the duty of a Tongan king, as it was of the kings of Samoa, to summon a *fono*, not merely for the purpose of listening to his orders, but for consultation with him on important matters, and if a corresponding duty lay on the Tongan chiefs of districts, as it did with those of Samoa, then it is obvious that a Tongan king or chief was not, according to Tongan methods and customs, an absolute autocrat. We have no materials from which to say how great or how small his power was, as opposed to that of the speakers who attended the *fono*; but I should think, from the evidence as to the somewhat arbitrary proceedings in which Tongan kings and chiefs appear to have indulged, that not only their parliamentary power, but their administrative power, would probably be relatively great, though here, as elsewhere, it would vary with their personality. In that case their diplomatic and consultative power would probably be so also; but we have not the information as to the character of their privy councils needed for the consideration of this matter.

Concerning the religious powers of the Tongan kings and chiefs, I can say nothing beyond what may be inferred from the evidence as to their sanctity, and from the information that has appeared in the chapter on the connection between the sacred and secular offices.

The military power of the *tuitonga* must at one time have been pretty great, if his consent to or approval of war was considered necessary or desirable before it was commenced; but this power would really be religious rather than military in the sense in which I am using the term. Bays says the acting king [as distinguished from the *tuitonga*] was the person in whom rested all the power of making war and peace<sup>1</sup>; and Sarah Farmer, in saying that if war was declared the king must declare it, and if peace was made the king was the maker of it<sup>2</sup>, is, I think, referring to the secular king. This evidence does not, however, necessarily point to a power possessed by the secular king, to initiate war, or even to make peace, without obtaining the approval of the *tuitonga* and consulting other people.

The evidence on the "Administration of Justice" points to the king and chiefs as having been the sole magistrates; but

<sup>1</sup> Bays, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> S. Farmer, p. 140. Cf. Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, p. 185.



in view of the doubt as to the accuracy of some of the evidence as to *fono*, we can hardly assume that the judicial power rested solely in them.

The heavy consensus of evidence as to the way in which kings and chiefs could oppress their subjects leads us, I think, to believe that their personal power was considerable; but it is possible that it was mainly exercised with reference to slaves, at all events so far as heedless murder was concerned.

As regards the broad question of the powers of the Tongan kings and chiefs, I think that, notwithstanding the questions raised as to some parts of the evidence, we must take it as indicating that these powers were greater in Tonga than in, at all events, most parts of Samoa.

### SOCIETY ISLANDS

I will begin the consideration of the powers of the chiefs in the Society Islands by referring to Ellis's statement as to the Tahitian *ra'atira*, or middle classes, which has appeared in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes." They were the gentry and farmers, the most influential class, and the strength of the nation; they were ancestral landowners, some of them having holdings of considerable size [they would be heads of social groups]; in all measures of government they imposed a restraint upon the extravagance and precipitancy of the king, who, without their co-operation, could carry few of his measures; a proposal of any importance, such as a declaration of war, or the fitting out of a fleet, was seldom undertaken without consultation with them, either by private discussion or by the summoning of a public council. I think we may assume that, if the *ra'atira* had all this power as between themselves and the great head chiefs or kings, they would have it also in comparison with the chiefs as a class; and, indeed, this is indicated by Bougainville's statement that in matters of consequence the lord of a district did not give his decision without the advice of a council<sup>1</sup>. A statement by de Bovis as to the parliamentary powers of the *ra'atira* has appeared in the chapter on "Council Meetings." We have also seen in the same chapter J. R. Forster's reference to the powers of the district chiefs as supports and checks to the king, and their great influence in public affairs.

<sup>1</sup> Bougainville, p. 254.



I will also refer very shortly to the particulars, given in the same chapter, concerning a great *apoo* or council meeting, summoned by a king. The king's summonses to the meeting were generally sent to the head chiefs of the several districts of his dominions, who notified the people in their own respective districts. The persons who took part in the proceedings, besides the king and his attendant advisers, were not only chiefs, but *ra'atira* also. The latter were so influential that, if there was not to be a public meeting the king would, if the matter to be discussed was important, send friends to discuss it with them. At the meeting the *ra'atira* delivered their sentiments with boldness and freedom; they took their places with their superiors, and, knowing that their aid was necessary, they did not fear to give their opinions. I think we must infer that, at a royal *apoo*, both the chiefs and the *ra'atira* had to be convinced as to the desirability of the proposal put before them, and it may be assumed that the *ra'atira* would be able to exercise as much influence at an *apoo* called by the head chief of a district. If this was so, the parliamentary powers of both kings and chiefs were subject to formidable restrictions, and the same restrictions would, it may be believed, attend their administrative powers, at all events in dealing with matters of importance.

My point so far has been that kings and chiefs could not take important steps without summoning in council the qualified middle class representatives of the areas into which their dominions were divided or consulting some of them separately, and that, even at a king's council meeting, *ra'atira* were present and spoke and were able to adopt a more or less independent attitude. I will now refer to some statements as to the powers of kings and chiefs, looked at from another point of view. Ellis says that the king's power was nominally supreme, and nominally it was he who dispensed law and justice over the whole land<sup>1</sup>. Each chief, however, was the sovereign of his own district, although all acknowledged the supremacy of the king<sup>2</sup>. Cook says that, though a king was treated with great respect, individual chiefs were more powerful in their own districts<sup>3</sup>. According to Lesson, the kings were only kings in name, the power being in the hands of the chiefs and *ra'atira*<sup>4</sup>. Moerenhout says the chiefs had more authority over their

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, pp. 117, 120 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Cook, vol. I, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> Lesson, *Voy.* vol. I, p. 407.



districts than the king had over the whole<sup>1</sup>. Baessler is evidently speaking of the time when the head chief of the district of Vaiari was the king of all the Teva districts—a position which afterwards passed to the head chief of Papara—when he says that the Vaiari chief was everywhere received with the utmost deference, but nevertheless only had power as a chief over his own district of Vaiari. His power was confined to this district; but his supremacy extended over the southern part of Great Tahiti and the whole of little Tahiti<sup>2</sup>—that was, in fact, over the eight districts of the Teva clan. It will be seen from these statements that they had in Tahiti, as in Samoa, a system of local self-government, as I have called it, which deprived a king of practical local power, except in his own district; and it can hardly be doubted that the powers of the chief of a district over its constituent villages would be limited in a similar way.

Passing now to what I am calling the consultative powers of the chiefs, I will refer again to what has appeared in the chapter on "Council Meetings." A king, and no doubt any ruling chief, had his own attendant confidential adviser, or advisers. We have seen that, according to Ellis, a question of peace or war was usually considered by the king, priests and principal chiefs, and that J. R. Forster makes a statement pointing in the same direction, but includes other matters of importance, besides those of peace and war, among the questions on which a king had to consult the chiefs. Tati Salmon also refers to council meetings, attended apparently only by the chiefs or *ari'i*, to consider and decide upon questions affecting themselves, both socially and politically. I also refer to what has been said in the chapters on the "Middle and Lower Classes" and on "Council Meetings" about the people called *iatoai*, and, as collective bodies, *hiva*. These *iatoai* had various and important duties, each *hiva* in its own district, and according to Baessler, one of these duties was to give counsel to the chief of the district. I draw attention to the general similarity between the *iatoai* of Tahiti and either the *usoali'i* or the *faletui*, or both, of Samoa, and between the Tahitian council meetings of chiefs and those of the *faletui* of Samoa. Both the *usoali'i* and the *iatoai* seem to have been under-chiefs of the chiefs who consulted them; the *usoali'i* were generally related to their chief, and it is probable that the *iatoai* were

<sup>1</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Baessler, *N.S.B.* p. 169.



so also. The *faletui* of Samoa and, apparently, the chiefs who attended the chiefs' councils in Tahiti seem to have been head chiefs of districts. I think it probable that the consultative power of a king or chief, as between him and his *hiva* would be relatively great, and the consultative power of a king as between him and the members of a council of chiefs would be relatively small. As regards the combined power in all matters administrative, parliamentary and diplomatic, I will only refer to what I said concerning Samoa, as I think it is probably equally applicable to Tahiti.

The situation as regards religious power also may well have been in Tahiti very much the same as it seems to have been in Samoa and for substantially the same reasons. As to one feature of the matter, I may point out that, though there is no information as to any body of priestly chiefs in Tahiti comparable with the *alatau* of Samoa, according to Cuzent, both priests and chiefs, and no one else, as we have seen in the chapter on "Council Meetings," entered the sacred enclosure, whence they emerged in a state of feverish exaltation, as if possessed by prophetic delirium, and so appeared before the assembled people at the great council meeting. This practice is only mentioned as having been adopted prior to the discussion of a question of peace or war or the proposed sacrifice of a prisoner; but it seems doubtful whether in Samoa the religious *séances* prior to a big *fono* were only held when a question of peace or war was to be considered, so the same doubt may arise as regards Tahiti. We may believe that the influence that these priests and chiefs exerted over the meeting would be considerable.

So also, as to military power, a study of the history of Tahiti, like that of Samoa, shows how largely the causes of war were quarrels between kings and chiefs, and it seems probable that the proposal of war would generally emanate from them. According to J. R. Forster, it was especially on questions of peace and war that the king consulted the district chiefs<sup>1</sup>. Ellis says that questions of peace and war were usually determined by a few leading people—the king, priests, and principal chiefs; but that sometimes the question depended upon the impressions produced by popular orators, whose speeches were specimens of the most impassioned national eloquence<sup>2</sup>; from which I gather that military power rested

<sup>1</sup> Forster, *Obs.* p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis, vol. 1, p. 278.



primarily with the chiefs, but that the representative council of the people might have to be convinced, and as to this I draw attention to my quotation of Ellis, a few pages back, as to the need for consulting the *ra'atira* as regarded a declaration of war, and of Cuzent as to the entry of chiefs and priests into the representative council in a state of feverish exaltation and prophetic possession.

I refer, as regards judicial power, to what has appeared in the chapter on the "Administration of Justice."

Ellis says that the king's influence over his chiefs was neither powerful nor permanent, and he could seldom confide in their fidelity to do what he required; the dismissal of a chief, and especially one of high rank or extensive influence, would hardly be attempted by him without first securing the approval of other chiefs<sup>1</sup>; and if the recalcitrant chief could get the support of other chiefs they would retain him and protest, and the king might have to give way<sup>2</sup>. Cook tells of an occasion when the king presented three hogs to his English visitors, one of which was very small; but one of his subjects (who would, I imagine, be a chief) spoke to him with some warmth, and in a very peremptory manner, whereupon he took the small pig away, and brought back one larger than either of the other two<sup>3</sup>.

On the other hand, Ellis says that each chief was sovereign over his own district, subject to the supremacy of the king<sup>4</sup>, and the *Duff* missionaries say so also<sup>5</sup>. The Spanish voyagers refer to the absolute despotism of the chiefs, who made themselves respected and obeyed by rigorous means<sup>6</sup>. Bougainville says a chief was implicitly obeyed by his own people<sup>7</sup>. According to Moerenhout, they rendered him, almost everywhere, a blind submission<sup>8</sup>. Bougainville also tells us that the power of a chief over his servants and slaves, and, he thinks, over the common people generally, included that of life and death<sup>9</sup>; and Ellis says it extended to their persons, and lives, as well as their property<sup>10</sup>.

If a king's power over his chiefs was so limited, we may imagine that he would not readily be allowed to interfere with their subjects, in their own districts; whereas, according to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* vol. III, pp. 120, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Cook, vol. III, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> Bougainville, p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> Bougainville, p. 269.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 122 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. 1, p. 337; cf. pp. 356 sq.

<sup>9</sup> Moerenhout, vol. 1, p. 511.

<sup>10</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 120.



few statements quoted above, they themselves had considerable power over them, including their very lives. The conclusion to which this evidence points is that a chief had a good deal of personal power in his own district, but we cannot say whether that power would extend over people in sub-districts, in the hands of other sub-chiefs or *ra'atira*. According to my general view of the distribution of power, it would not do so entirely and without qualification.

#### HERVEY ISLANDS

I have found but little information as to the powers of chiefs in the Hervey Islands, and I must refer to the particulars that have appeared in previous chapters. In Mangaia, according to statements by Gill (see chapter on "Council Meetings"), when the sacred king called a general council of the island, all the "tribal chiefs" had to attend, with a few followers, on behalf of their respective "clans." The elders and wise men of a "tribe" constituted the "tribal" council, and it was the duty of the presiding chief to ask the opinion of the elders on any point. The "paramount chief or king" had to endorse the advice of the Council of Elders for it to become law. Gill's bewildering habit of muddling his terminology makes it impossible sometimes to interpret his meaning; but I think that the "tribal chiefs" would be the head chiefs of the various main groups, each with its traditional origin, of the people of the island. The council meeting summoned by the sacred chief would probably include the head chiefs and perhaps some other chiefs, with their followers, of all these groups; but the "tribal" council, referred to afterwards, would, I imagine, be a council of only one of the groups, summoned by its own head chief. Adopting this view, it is clear that a council, whether called by the king or a head chief, was held for the purpose of discussion. I gather that the "paramount chief or king" whose consent to any advice of the elders was necessary, would be the head chief of the group who summoned the council, in which case his parliamentary or consultative power would be considerable, and its exercise would depend upon the extent to which it was his duty or interest to be guided by the views of the other members of the council—a matter as to which we have no information. Also we do not know what classes of society were included in the "elders and wise men," who took part in a



council of one of the groups; so we cannot say how far the council meeting was democratic in character, and cannot say whether the chief's power was what I have called parliamentary or consultative; therefore the information leaves us in the dark as to the powers of chiefs as a class, as compared with those of their subjects. It is clear that the power of the sacred chief was great, but this would probably be fundamentally religious.

In Rarotonga there were, as we have seen, the great *ariki*, and next to them came, first the *mataiapo*, or land-owning governors of districts, called by Nicholas "minor chiefs," and by Moss "nobles," and, after them, came the *rangatira*, or other landowners. William Gill says that in Rarotonga, the *ariki* (or chief) was in each settlement supreme in power and despotic in rule<sup>1</sup>. According to Moss, the *ariki* were supreme, but largely controlled by the *mataiapo* (nobles), who only regarded the *ariki* as first among equals, and who were the most powerful class. The *ariki* of one district might, through land tenure, be a *mataiapo* in another<sup>2</sup>. If Moss is right, the *mataiapo* or under-chiefs had as a class considerable controlling power over the *ariki* or head chiefs; but this tells us nothing about the power of the *rangatira*.

Moss's reference, quoted above, to land tenure is interesting. He says that the *mataiapo* families had held their land from time immemorial<sup>3</sup>, and that the authority of the head of a family over the lands and possessions was absolute, and carried with it as absolute a control over the whole of the members<sup>4</sup>. The ownership, in a sense at all events, by the head for the time being of a family, of the family land is in accord with a wide-spread Polynesian custom; so, if the *ariki* of one district was through land tenure, a *mataiapo* of another, we may reasonably attribute this to his having succeeded to the headship, with the family name or title, of the family to whom the land in the other district belonged. The position disclosed would thus be that an *ariki* in one district might be, in another district, only a *mataiapo*, under the superior government of the *ariki* of that district, although the rank of that *ariki* was inferior to his own.

We know nothing about council meetings in Rarotonga

<sup>1</sup> W. Gill, *Gems*, vol. II, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.



beyond what has appeared in the chapter under that heading and in the chapter on "The *Marae* as a Social Centre." I may point out that, though the information there contained all relates to the great royal *marae* of the ruling Makea king, I have referred to a statement which shows that the *mataiapo* also would have their own *marae*. So far as we know, only leading chiefs took part in gatherings, summoned by the king, at his royal *marae*; but presumably those who did so at the *marae* of the *mataiapo* would be the minor chiefs and middle classes to which their respective families would belong. Unfortunately there is no information as to the relative power of the king at his *marae* and the *mataiapo* at their *marae* on the one hand, and the representatives who attended the meetings on the other.

The evidence is too small in quantity and indefinite in character to enable me to summarize it under my specific headings. I refer, as to judicial power, to what has appeared in the chapter on "Administration of Justice."

#### MARQUESAS

I will begin the consideration of the powers of the Marquesan chiefs by referring shortly to the somewhat contradictory evidence that has appeared in previous chapters. In the chapter on Marquesan "Political Areas and Systems," we have references by a few writers to the importance of hereditary titular ancestry. We have also seen statements that in war time, and in assemblies of the great councils of a tribe, the power of the chief was more or less preponderant according to the titles he possessed (Mathias). Each valley was under the dominion of an *ariki* or chief, who maintained a feudal independence, though the chiefs of minor rank were equally absolute in their own districts (Bennett). Each group of inhabitants had its chief, more nominal than real, whose influence and authority was only felt in times of war (Jardin).

There are, in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes," a number of statements pointing to a certain amount of general equality among the people, with a lack of distinctions of rank, and the absence of power of the chiefs. The chapter on "Council Meetings" contains a description by Coulter of a war council in which only the principal chiefs took part; and an account by Radiguet of the calling together



by the head chief of one of the groups of people about Anna Maria Bay, in Nukuhiva, who was also the king of all the groups, of a council of the groups to discuss a question of peace or war. It contains Jardin's statement that the kings of two other Marquesan islands would assemble the chiefs of the bays and valleys to consider a question of war. There is Melville's reference to "the independent electors" of the Taipii people, who would not be brow-beaten by priests, chiefs, idols or devils, and to the absence of legal tribunals. The evidence in the chapter on "Administration of Justice" indicates that there was little or no such administration by chiefs, acting as magistrates, or indeed by anyone. The chapter on the "Sanctity of Chiefs" shows that the chiefs claimed long chains of ancestors, most of them deified, and that some of these chains went back to well-known gods. There is also evidence pointing to an infective taboo which attached itself to the chiefs and their property, a king having to be carried because of this, and a reference by Lesson to a special language used by priests and chiefs. The evidence on "Totemism" refers to a kind of fish used only for the gods, and not eaten, and to the special ceremony performed by a king before the catching of the sacred turtle; and contains a statement that the best food was reserved for the chiefs in common with the religious heads and the gods. We shall see, when considering the subject of control of food supply, that the chiefs took the lead in directing the collecting and storage of food for the people at time of harvests when a dearth was feared, and could lay taboos upon its consumption.

I will now refer to some further evidence dealing with our subject. The *Duff* missionaries (1799), speaking of a chief who presided over four districts, say that he seemed to have less authority than the Tahitian chiefs<sup>1</sup>. Krusenstern (1813) says that the Nukuhivan did not acknowledge in the person of his king a tyrant to whom he must sacrifice his best power and abilities, without daring to consider his own preservation, or that of his family. The very small proportionate number of nobles, who consisted only of the king's family, and the little authority which they possessed, left him more liberty to work, while they insured him a free possession of his land, so that, with very few restrictions, every one could have a share<sup>2</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Krusenstern, vol. I, pp. 151 sq.



great chief of one of the groups had little power; the people laughed at his orders, and should he venture to strike any one, he would infallibly meet with a like return. The main advantage which he possessed, and the only one that could be spoken of with any degree of certainty, consisted in his greater wealth, by which he was enabled to provide for a larger number of persons<sup>1</sup>. Langsdorff (1813) says he saw nothing like a form of government, and the most important man in the valley did not seem to have the power of a chief. His commands were laughed at, and he was not able to keep the crowd from the visitors' ship. All the chiefs seen by him had less power over their subjects than a village mayor over his peasants. A chief generally had many breadfruit trees, and coconut and banana plantations, and was therefore able to feed many men, who on this account sought his protection<sup>2</sup>. Porter (1822) speaks of one group as a perfect democracy, without a chief<sup>3</sup>; and says the people had no chiefs who appeared to assume any authority over them; but there were patriarchs who had only the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children, receiving however payment in kind from his tenants<sup>4</sup>. Stewart (1832) says the well-organized form of monarchy found in Hawai'i and Tahiti did not exist in the Marquesas. Chiefs had little influence or authority, except that arising from aristocratic birth and large possessions. They had but few prerogatives of chieftainship<sup>5</sup>. Bennett (1840) says that the chiefs (great and lesser) were implicitly obeyed by their vassals, though they demanded no ceremonies of respect from the latter, and on ordinary occasions were not distinguished from them by any personal badge of dignity<sup>6</sup>. Mathias (1843) says that in peace the chief generally exercised his authority only in a patriarchal way; but that formerly he might put to death those who despised his authority or committed some act to his prejudice<sup>7</sup>. According to Jardin (1856), each valley had its own chief, but his influence and authority were only felt in times of war<sup>8</sup>. Des Vergnes (1868) says that from the time of the discovery of the Marquesas it has been recognized that the chiefs differed little from the commonalty. The relations existing between the two castes have always appeared to travellers to be the same as if all the inhabitants had belonged

<sup>1</sup> Krusenstern, vol. 1, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Porter, vol. II, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Stewart, vol. 1, pp. 240 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Mathias, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Langsdorff, vol. 1, pp. 175 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> Bennett, vol. 1, pp. 319 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Jardin, p. 180.



to one single class. The chief had in ordinary times no authority over his subjects; but in war, and in grave circumstances, he was generally the one person who commanded, and all hastened to obey him. Sometimes, though rarely, he consulted the old men of the district; but it was almost always his advice that was adopted<sup>1</sup>. Melville says that the influence exerted over the people of the Taipii valley [where he spent most of his time] by the chiefs was mild in the extreme<sup>2</sup>, and refers again to "the limited and inconsiderable prerogatives of the king and chiefs"<sup>3</sup>. The simplicity of the social institutions of the people could not, he says, have been more completely proved than by the fact that, after having been several weeks in the valley, and in almost daily intercourse with its king, he should have remained in ignorance of his royal character until it became apparent at a festival<sup>4</sup>.

I have introduced all this evidence in what may seem to be a needless repetition of similar statements, because I think the question of the power of the Marquesan chiefs, or the absence of it, is a matter that may prove to be of considerable interest in connection with Rivers's hypotheses. I am inclined to think that much of the evidence as to general equality of the classes and the lack of power on the part of chiefs may be due to misapprehension of writers, and that the apparent want of power may have been due to some extent to the system of local self-government found elsewhere—the district of each great chief, chief and sub-chief managing its own affairs, to a large extent, without interference by its superior chief. It may be, however, that the Marquesan chiefs were not treated by their people with all the visible forms of respect that were accorded to chiefs in the more westerly islands, though the evidence has shown that they were credited with some sanctity and had an infective taboo. They appear at all events to have had greater powers in matters of war.

The evidence is too indefinite to be summarized under my special headings.

## PAUMOTU

I have found no information about council meetings in the Paumotuan Islands. As regards the general position of the chiefs, d'Urville (1841) says that the king of Mangareva had

<sup>1</sup> Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. xxii, pp. 719 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 247 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Melville, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 208.



absolute authority over the inhabitants of the island, excepting his four uncles, who shared the land with him, and were only dependent on him formally<sup>1</sup>. One of the French missionaries says (1840) that in Mangareva the prerogatives of the sovereign were reduced to certain roads, and to certain seats declared by the king to be taboo—that was, reserved for him alone. He and the royal family were entitled to certain visible marks of respect, which the missionary specifies, but “these are the only distinctions, this is the only homage, which the people grant their lord.” The most precious advantage the royal family owed to their birth was their education<sup>2</sup>. Cuzent (1872) says little is known of the ancient social constitution of the Gambier [Mangareva] people. They are said to have been aristocratic. The king was the first of all the chiefs, and his degree of authority was in proportion to his talent for making himself feared<sup>3</sup>.

I refer to what has already appeared in the chapter on “Sanctity of Chiefs.” We have seen that, according to Caillot, the king of Mangareva stood, as it were, on a pinnacle by himself, nobles and plebeians alike having such consideration for him, and allowing him such authority over them that they regarded him as almost supernatural, and called him a god in his lifetime. We have also seen what Caillot tells us of a tradition of a king of the island of Hao, a man of giant stature and strength, supposed to be possessed of supernatural power, apparently both physical and mental. I will now quote Caillot a little further. He says the king of Mangareva enjoyed extraordinary power, he made war and peace, commanded the canoes and armies, governed the nation, decreed the laws, rendered justice, instituted civil and religious feasts, and from time to time ordered the death of a man of the common people for the needs of religion. He was in reality an absolute monarch. In general the people obeyed him; but he must not show himself too authoritative, exacting, greedy and cruel, or he would probably be deposed or killed. Thus the king, always uneasy as to his own safety, did not abuse his authority over his subjects beyond measure, and generally limited himself to prescribing for them certain forced labour, leaving them during the rest of the time at peace. The natives would not have tolerated his doing otherwise, except in time of war<sup>4</sup>.

All this very fragmentary evidence refers only to the power

<sup>1</sup> D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. II, part i, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XIV, p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> Cuzent, *V.J.G.* p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, pp. 147 sq.



of the king. According to d'Urville it was immense. The statement of the French missionaries may seem at first sight to point very much in the other direction, but I do not think it necessarily does so. It may be that the missionary was looking at the matter mainly from the point of view of the king's infectious taboo only, which would not matter when merely walking in his own personal demesnes, as distinguished from any governmental powers he might possess, and of the visible signs of respect shown to him, which I may say are similar to those offered to great chiefs elsewhere in Polynesia, though this is not a matter with which I am dealing in this book. Cuzent's somewhat negative statement does not help us much. Caillot, though a good observer, is only a very modern writer; and, though he is speaking in the past tense, we cannot say how far his evidence can be relied upon, as a correct statement of an old political system. I do not think we are able to express any strong opinion as to the powers of the Paumotuan kings in olden days, and we have no information as to those of the chiefs as a class.

## NIUE

The king of the island of Niue had, according to Smith, as we have seen in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes," a representative in each village; and he also had a prime minister, who, Smith tells us, may be said to have carried on the business of the whole island, and sometimes usurped the chief power over it. I do not attach much importance, for the purposes of our present subject, to this reference to carrying on the business of the whole island, as I think it only means that a powerful prime minister might encroach on the power of the king, whatever that might be. If, however, the prime minister was only a middle class man, the statement may point to a possible source of weakness in the power of a chief.

Murray (1863) says that the chiefs had very little influence, the man who rendered himself most formidable by warlike deeds being the man of greatest consideration<sup>1</sup>. According to Thomson, the institutions of the island seem always to have been republican<sup>2</sup>. The people did not respect their own chiefs, but paid heed to the opinion of white men<sup>3</sup>. Smith was told of a king who had been a very superior man, of great force of

<sup>1</sup> Murray, *M.W.P.* p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. XXXI, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 145.



character, and with a deep knowledge of the Niue language, whose word was law to the people<sup>1</sup>. He says there is no question as to the power the *iki* and *patu* [terms that would, as I interpret them, taken together, include chiefs and other heads of families generally] exercised over the lower orders. They were supreme, but Smith thinks all decisions were the result of a consensus of opinion in the *fono* or council<sup>2</sup>. He did not see in the chiefs of Niue the dignity and presence observable in a high chief of Samoa or Tonga; but in their own way they were nevertheless chiefs, and exercised a good deal of influence over the common people<sup>3</sup>. I may point out, as regards Smith's statements, that references to power over the common people as distinguished from the middle classes, do not in Polynesia amount to very much; and that the combined power of chiefs and other heads of families would be consistent with a somewhat democratic institution. There is, I think, nothing in this additional evidence to alter the general effect of what has appeared in the chapters on "Council Meetings" and "Administration of Justice"; and I refer to that evidence and to my comments on it.

#### ROTUMA

Lesson says that in Rotuma the power of the chiefs was very great, but they exercised their authority in a paternal, rather than in an oppressive manner<sup>4</sup>. We have seen in the chapter on "Council Meetings," how democratic the general system of government seems to have been, the *pure*, or heads of families having power to reverse any action of the *ngangaja* or chief, though they rarely did this if his decisions were in accord with, and he did not infringe, Rotuman customs. So also, chiefs who were going to meet in council spoke beforehand to their own people, and ascertained their wants. The administration of justice seems to have rested with the heads of families and chiefs.

#### FOTUNA

We have seen that in the island of Fotuna the reigning king had to consult a council formed of the other chiefs of the tribe, and to consider the dominant opinion of this council. Mangeret says it is more proper to speak of Fotuna as a republic

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Lesson, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 432.



than to call it a monarchy<sup>1</sup>. Bourdin says that the king was surrounded with respect, and obeyed without limit, but that, the island being divided into districts, governed by chiefs, though they acknowledged the suzerainty of the king, he only interfered directly in cases in which the common weal was concerned<sup>2</sup>. According to one of the French missionaries, the power of the king and elective chiefs was limited, the assembly of the old men being stronger<sup>3</sup>. Boisse says that the two kings [see "Political Areas and Systems" as to this] had little more than the title; each Fotuna head of the family was really perfectly independent, but the decisions of the old people were generally submitted to<sup>4</sup>.

#### UVEA

We have seen that in Uvea the king could not decide anything without consulting the assembly of the heads of families; but that, according to Bourdin, there were no regular judicial tribunals, and superiors had much power over the persons and property of their inferiors. Deschamps, however (1885), says that the queen had great powers, such as the right of life and death over all her subjects, and the right to make peace or war<sup>5</sup>.

#### TOKELAU

So also in Fakaofu, of the Tokelau group, the heads of families formed the government and there was a parliament; but we know nothing of the distribution of power; there appears to have been an official judge, who acted in consultation with the king and priests.

#### ELLICE ISLANDS

I refer, as regards the Ellice Islands, to the information appearing in the chapter on "Political Areas and Systems," from which it seems that the systems of government differed in the several islands of the group, and to the chapters on "Council Meetings" and "Administration of Justice." There is but little information on our present subject.

#### EASTER ISLAND

Thomson says that the ancient government of Easter Island was an arbitrary monarchy, the supreme authority

<sup>1</sup> Mangeret, vol. 1, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Bourdin, pp. 453 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XXXII, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Boisse, p. 437.

<sup>5</sup> Deschamps, p. 286.



having been vested in the hereditary king; in his absence, chiefs presided at councils, and disputes were settled by the king or chiefs<sup>1</sup>. Geiseler says that in former days the king ruled the common people almost despotically, and that, after him, the chiefs had the most authority, and they were the counsellors in all cases<sup>2</sup>. He refers to the gradual dying away of the authority of the kings and chiefs, a condition having been reached in which everyone was his own master, knowing no authority over him, and seeking his rights himself<sup>3</sup>. One of the French missionaries tells very much the same story and says that Easter Island presented a specimen of anarchy<sup>4</sup>. I refer, as to judicial powers, to the chapter on "Administration of Justice."

### TIKOPIA

In Tikopia, according to Rivers, the chiefs seem to have been definitely the rulers of the island, and had the deciding voice in social disputes. All important decisions concerning social order depended on their will, and they settled the nature of the punishment to be inflicted for any breach of the customs of the island (Maresere's account<sup>5</sup>. The word of a chief was law to the people (Durrad's account)<sup>6</sup>. Dillon says that the petty chiefs acted as magistrates<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> W. J. Thomson, p. 472.

<sup>4</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XXXIX, p. 255.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Geiseler, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 306.

<sup>7</sup> Dillon, vol. II, p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 22.



## CHAPTER XXXIII

### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CLASSES OF SOCIETY

#### PRELIMINARY

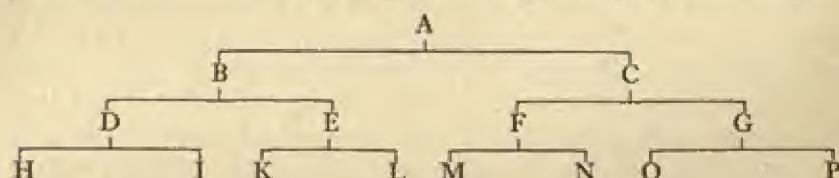
I HAVE referred in the chapter on "Origin and Migrations" to suggestions that have been made, not merely that the Polynesians were a mixed race, which cannot be doubted, but that the chiefs and their families must be regarded as the descendants of a conquering race who had overcome the people then living in the islands of Polynesia; and I have pointed out that the general superiority in physique of the chiefs, and the frequency among them of a skin fairer than that of the common people, upon which these suggestions have been based, are hardly a sufficient foundation for them, bearing in mind the special care devoted to the upbringing and nurture of chiefs' children and the practice of preserving the fairness of skin of their daughters. It is obvious that, if a group of people of a relatively fair complexion invaded a darker-skinned group, overcame them, occupied their territory without driving them out, continued to dominate them, but did not intermarry with them, the difference in complexion between the two groups would continue; and we can well understand that, even if a certain amount of intermarriage produced a mixture of blood, the general physical difference between the two groups would continue for a time, though it would become less marked as the generations, with their probable continued and more frequent intermarriages, succeeded one another. I think, however, we may assume that, recognizing that the Polynesians are the descendants of two or more ethnic groups of ancestors, the process of intermixture must have taken place in the very distant past; and if this was so, though the descendants of the mixed groups would display the physical characteristics of one or another of their ancestral groups in an ever varying degree, it seems to me inconceivable that we should find, after the great period of time that must have elapsed, that the chiefs were the more or less pure bred descendants of the conquerors, and the



other people were those of the conquered, and that thus the difference of complexion had survived as a class distinction. I shall therefore assume, for the purpose of considering the relationship between the several classes of Polynesian society, that, whatever their ancestors may have been, they had become a substantially homogeneous race.

The different classes of society may be divided roughly into what writers call chiefs, middle classes and common people. I do not treat the priesthood and sorcerers as a class, as they appear to have belonged to all classes, though many of the more important priests were related to the upper classes; and I do not mention the slaves, as they, to whatever class or classes of society they may have belonged, were, I think, as a rule Polynesian prisoners of war, taken captive by Polynesians, or their descendants, and so would not form a class in the sense in which I am now using the term.

It seems to me that there is an inherent probability that the different classes of society would be more or less intermixed in blood, with no very hard and fast line of demarcation between any one class, and at all events the class next below it in rank. Let us look at the matter in the light of what would probably be the gradually diminishing ranks of some of the descendants of a chief; I give the following rough-sketch genealogical tree for the purpose of explaining my meaning:



The original ancestor chief of the tree was A, who was, I will imagine, a high chief, and I will suppose that he and each of his descendants had two sons, and that the succession always passed to the elder son, though this supposition is only adopted for the purpose of discussing the matter with reference to the sketch. It sometimes went to younger sons, brothers, nephews, or other relatives; but this difference would not affect the general principle and purpose of my argument. In comparing ranks I shall assume, not only that succession was patrilineal, but also, to avoid confusion of ideas, that descent was so; but this question also is not material to the argument. In comparing



relative ranks I shall only be speaking generally and broadly, in accordance with what was, I think, the main recognized principle of Polynesia.

The title of A would pass in succession to B, D and H, each of whom would in turn have a rank as high as that of A. None of the younger sons would be the possessors of any titles or family names, strictly speaking, until they became the heads of social groups; though such of them as were closely related to chiefs of high rank might sometimes be addressed by the complimentary title of chief. I am, however, only considering heads of social groups, bearing the titles or names of the groups. C, E and I, when they became the heads of groups, might, we will say, be recognized as titular chiefs; each of them being a son of a holder for the time being of the original title; but, being heads of cadet branches only, their rank would not be so high as that of A, and afterwards of B, D and H successively, as holders of the original title. Descendants of B would, speaking generally, be regarded as higher in social rank than those of C, because they were members of the senior, succeeding, branch family of the common titular ancestor A; similarly the descendants of D and F respectively would be higher than those of E and G respectively; and so on for subsequent generations. I propose, however, to disregard this feature of the matter, with the endless complication which it would involve, because it also is not material to the explanation of the general principle which I am trying to demonstrate. K would succeed to the inferior title of E; and F, and afterwards M, to the similarly inferior title of C. We may now have reached a stage in the consecutive successions at which it was no longer a matter of title, but merely one of family name. I know of no rules for determining at what stage of diminution in rank the head of a social group ceased to be regarded as a titular chief—that is, to be called an *ariki* or *ali'i* or *ari'i*, or by a corresponding term—nor do I imagine there were any exact rules; but there must have been such stages, probably not clearly defined and often differing, as otherwise all the descendants, to the end of time, of an *ariki* would themselves be *ariki*, and I am convinced that this was not so. I will assume, however, that we have now reached this stage, again pointing out that the accuracy or otherwise of this assumption is immaterial to the subject matter of the discussion; the stage may have been a step higher or lower. L, N and G, therefore, when they became heads of families, would not be chiefs; they



would merely be the founders of what I may call middle class families and of the family names of those families; the family name that started with G, would afterwards pass to O. Then P would similarly be the founder of another family, with its name, which would pass down to his successors; but the rank of this family would be still lower.

I do not for a moment claim that all this detailed comparative analysis of rank is exact, as indeed I do not believe there was any exactitude in the matter; but I think that it is broadly in accord with Polynesian general ideas. If this is so, we can, by contemplating the carrying down of the tree for a few more generations, imagine the general principle of relationship of the classes to which we should be led.

I will now look at the matter from another point of view. I think that, if my views as to the general social character of the grouping and sub-grouping of the Polynesians are correct, they also lead to a presumption that the several successive ranks of society were to a large extent related to one another, and indeed that all the evidence as to social grouping may be quoted in support of the view that the different classes of society were probably, to some extent, related closely or distantly<sup>1</sup>. This relationship is well illustrated by the detailed particulars I have given as to social grouping in Samoa—the only islands from which such particulars are available. My investigation of the grouping in Samoa, if correct, points to the following series of relationships. The *tuiaana*, *tuiatua*, *tuimamū'a* and *Maliētoa* were the holders of the ancient ancestral titles of the respective divisions over which they ruled. I have proved, as regards Aana, that a number of the great leading chiefs, at the heads of important social groups, were the holders of ancestral titles which were traced backwards to past *tuiaana*; and think I could have given similar evidence as to the other divisions. The evidence has also disclosed incidentally the way in which branches of leading titled families were formed, and were themselves titled families; and other examples of this will be found in Kramer's genealogies. If we could pick up an ancestral chain at the point where the head of a social group was a man of the lowest rank that could claim to be called an *ali'i*, what would be the rank of the heads of the highest families, forming sections of his group, that were related to him? and again, what was the rank of the heads of more humble families that

<sup>1</sup> The relationship would include that involved by adoption.



were related to these higher families? If we may believe that the system of relationship found at the bottom of this social ladder was similar to that of its upper steps, we are led, I suggest, to the conclusion that there was no hard and fast line of demarcation between the *ali'i*, as a class, and the *tulafale*, and so on. I draw special attention, as regards this matter, to the evidence as to socio-political systems in Samoa given by Stuebel, von Bülow, Krämer and Schultz.

## TONGA

I have, up to this point, been looking at the question of the relationship of the classes of society from a broad and general point of view. I will now refer to certain specific evidence obtained from the different islands and island groups, and will begin with Tonga, from which we have some interesting information.

I refer, as to Tonga, to the evidence which has appeared in the chapters on "Social and Local Grouping" and the "Middle and Lower Classes," and my comments on it. We have seen that the people of Tonga were divided, in descending ranks, into (1) *eiki*, or chiefs; (2) *matabule*, the land-owning gentlemen, closely associated in life with the *eiki*, and acting as their counsellors, ministers and officials, and who appear to have been orators; (3) *mua*, or land-owners, assisting the *matabule* in various ways; and (4) *tua*, or peasants; and that the *matabule* were relations of the *eiki*, the *mua* of the *matabule*, and the *tua* of the *mua*, members of each class passing by succession into the class above it. It is true that Mariner does not recognize any recent blood relationship between a *matabule* and an *eiki*; but there is a natural improbability that their relationship and eligibility for succession would be different from that of the others; and there is some evidence that it was not so, and indeed there is evidence that the *matabule*, or some of them, were minor chiefs. Mariner's view that the *matabule* were supposed to have been *originally* distant relations of the *eiki*, or that they were descended from persons whose experience and wisdom had made them valuable to past great *eiki* has been considered, and the probable explanation is that some of the great ancestral *matabule* families had in fact had their origin in past relationships with past *eiki*.

According to my understanding of the matter, there might be a social group, with a minor *eiki* or chief at its head, which



would include among its numbers some branch groups, each of which had at its head a *matabule*, one or more of whom might perhaps be regarded as a still lesser chief; and on the death of the *eiki* one of these related *matabule* might succeed to the title. By a similar process there would be in each of these branch groups, with a *matabule* at its head, a number of still smaller groups, each with a similarly related *mua* at its head, and on the death of the *matabule* one of these *mua* might be his successor, and become a *matabule*; and in exactly the same way a *tua* might become a *mua*.

It seems then that in Tonga there was, according to the evidence, a definite relationship between the classes. It may be regarded as curious that this relationship should exist, not only as between *eiki*, *matabule* and *mua*, all of whom were land-owners, but also as between *mua* and *tua*, of whom the latter were merely peasants; but I may point out that, when we reach the level of families of *tua*, headed by *mua*, any plots of land allocated by a *mua*, as head of the family, to the use of individual *tua*, would probably be so small that the *tua* could not be described as land-owners.

#### SAMOA

I will now refer briefly to some of the detailed Samoan evidence appearing in the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping." In view of the uncertainty as to the exact meanings to be attributed to certain terms used by writers, I will, for the purpose of comparison and co-ordination, here use the general terms "group," "sub-group" and "family" for the collections of related people numbered 4, 3 and 2 respectively in my tabulated statements, with the caution that what I will call a "family" was not merely a domestic household, but a larger consanguine family. Stuebel's evidence points to what were apparently sub-groups, divided into families. The sub-groups were evidently sections of larger bodies of people, but relationship between the sub-groups is not asserted by Stuebel. Von Bülow's statement must, I think, be interpreted in the same way, except that he mentions other connecting links between the sub-groups (or families), besides that of actual relationship; I have, however, commented upon these other links. Krämer's evidence is similar to that of Stuebel. Schultz apparently describes a group, divided into sub-groups, which were again divided into families.



If we may assume that the head of a group, or sub-group, was often an *ali'i*, whilst that of a sub-group or family was often not so, we have evidence of the relationship between the chiefs and the middle classes, which is the great point now under discussion, and I think this assumption is permissible—indeed I do not see how it can be avoided. I want, however, to show the relationship between the *ali'i*, as a class, and the *tulafale*, as a class; and in doing this I shall disregard the *tulafale ali'i*, who evidently were members of either one or the other of these two classes, or perhaps both, some of them belonging to one, and some to the other. I must emphasize the fact that the *tulafale* were heads of middle class social groups, just as the chiefs were heads of more highly-ranked social groups. This was clearly the case; the knowledge we possess of the social and political systems of Samoa shows it, and writers from time to time refer to it, or assume it. I draw attention, however, to Krämer's reference to a "family state" and to the general statement on social organization by Ella, which has appeared in the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping," and will quote another one. Ella says the earliest form of government of Samoa appears to have been patriarchal. The chiefs were the heads of families or leaders of expeditions which first occupied the land. As families increased, the heads of families were called *tulafale*, and they appointed their heads of clans, *ali'i* and *faipule* (chiefs and rulers). These, too, after a time varied in rank and influence, according to differences in their family descent. When Samoa became divided into distinct districts or states, a head chief of each state or division was appointed and recognized as king or lord of that division, and received the title of *tui*, synonymous with that of king<sup>1</sup>. This is, of course, only a short sketch by a modern writer of what he conceives to have been the history of the socio-political systems of Samoa, leading to the evolution of the ultimate division into groups, sub-groups, and so on downwards; but it is consistent with the idea of general inter-relationship ("families" being sections of "clans"), points to a system under which each group and sub-group elected its own head, and indicates that the elected heads of relatively large or important groups were *ali'i*, and those of smaller sub-groups *tulafale*. Later on, speaking of modern times, he says that the *ali'i* were heads of tribes or clans, and the *tulafale* heads of families<sup>2</sup>. Schultz says that the *matai* [head of

<sup>1</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 596.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 597.



a family] was either an *ali'i* (chief) or a *tulafale* (speaker). The families of chiefs and speakers were by no means strictly severed, and it often occurred that both kinds of *matai*-name were represented in the same family. This took place either through intermarriage or inheritance, or through the will of some founder, who had appointed one son chief, and another speaker, or else by the adoption of an outsider into a family and his appointment as speaker<sup>1</sup>. I may point out, as regards the concentration in one person of a chief's title and a *tulafale's* family name, that the holder of one of these—say, in one district—might at any time succeed to the other—say in another district, and retain them both. The reference to adoption in no way militates against the question of relationship, as a person adopted into a family or clan was regarded as being just as much a member of it as he would have been if his relationship had been that of blood. It was a "fictitious" tie of kinship, which, like that of real kinship, might form the bond between members of a social group, as explained on p. 144 of the fourth edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*.

The following are a few instances of matters that indicate an origin of the relationship, arising, as referred to by Schultz, from specific dual appointments between the *ali'i* and the *tulafale*; some of these are only more or less legendary, but they must not be disregarded on that account; for they would be in accord with recognized Samoan customs.

Schultz says that Malufau appointed his son Tuingamala chief, and his son Tuiatua speaker, in Fasito'otai<sup>2</sup>. I find from one of Krämer's genealogies that Malufau was a son of *tuiaana* Tamalelangi (twelve generations back), and a half-brother of the woman Salamasina (who, as we have seen, was the first *tafa'ifa*); and that he had two sons of the names given by Schultz<sup>3</sup>. He did not succeed to the *tuiaana* title. I also find from the Fasito'otai *fono* greetings that one of the seven orators who [in Krämer's time] conducted affairs there was named Tuiatua<sup>4</sup>.

Krämer says that Leota willed his youngest son to be a chief, and his heir, and his two elder sons were to be *faleupolu* to their brother, and receive mats from him<sup>5</sup>. I have already referred, in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes,"

<sup>1</sup> Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 47 note.

<sup>3</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 153. The appearance here of the name *tuiatua* is curious. He was not the king of Atua.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 268.



to the extraordinary privileges given at *fono* in Atua to the head of the old orator-chief family Leota, and to the tradition as to their origin. The term *faleupolu* was evidently used here with the meaning, referred to (in two places) in the chapter on "Council Meetings," of the collective body of orators, and not that of the middle classes.

Tafaingata, the son of Ata, gave his youngest son the title of Mata'afa, and directed his elder sons to act as orators for their brother, to get from him fine mats on the granting of the Mata'ifa title<sup>1</sup>. Ata was one of the ancestors of the Malietoa of Tuamasanga, prior to the period of the first Malietoa<sup>2</sup>, and the Mata'afa were an important family of chiefs.

Muangututi'a willed that his adopted son Tupua should succeed him as *tafa'ifa*, and that his own son Fepulea'i should serve Tupua<sup>3</sup>. In the genealogy of the *tuiaana* I find the names of *tuiaana* Mangututi'a, and of these two sons, adopted and actual. It shows that Tupua succeeded his father as *tafa'ifa*<sup>4</sup>.

I have, in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," told the story, of which there are several versions, of the driving out of the Tongan invaders by Tuna and Fata, the sons of Ationgie, and how their elder brother Savea was allowed to take the title, then created, of Malietoa, and Ationgie made his will, in which he directed that two brothers of Savea's wife were to be his orators in council and Tuna and Fata were to support him, for which purpose they established themselves, one on the northern shore, and the other on the southern shore of Tuamasanga. In one of the versions it is definitely stated that they were to be his orators and counsellors<sup>5</sup>.

The interest of these accounts is this. The principle of relationship between Samoan chiefs and orators involved by my discussion of the subject is that of a general relationship between the classes of society, a point being reached at which a son of a minor *ali'i*, who did not succeed to the title, could not be an *ali'i*, and, as the head of his own family, would therefore only be a *tulafale*. Such a *tulafale* and his immediate successors would obviously be closely related to the son of the *ali'i* who had succeeded to the title, and his immediate successors. In looking at the matter from this point of view, I have, however, been conscious of a difficulty arising from the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 366.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 208.



fact that there were undoubtedly in Samoa a number of powerful families of *tulafale*, whose ancestors had been *tulafale*, and not *ali'i*, perhaps for generations past, and who had therefore to be accounted for in some other way. I think that the evidence as to past appointments by chiefs of one son to succeed to the title and of another to be his supporting *tulafale* offers a reasonable solution of the problem. Schultz's reference to the appointment by "some founder" of one of his sons as chief and the other as speaker, as a source of origin of the appearance of both *ali'i* and *tulafale* names in the same family means, as I understand him, that the official positions given to the two sons passed downwards to their respective successors, heads of the two branches of the family; and I have been able to show that in the Fasito'otai case the name of the son appointed as speaker was that of one of the speakers of that village district in modern times. I have not been able to prove this as regards the other cases; but I think they are probably examples of the same thing. I think these hereditary orators may be compared with what, in the chapter on the "Connection between the Sacred and Secular Offices," I have called "hereditary priests." I am not prepared to say that it is the only explanation, but I have not discovered any other. In one or two cases the high rank of the chief who made the double appointment would make it improbable that one of his own sons would only be a *tulafale*; we should expect that, if he was to be an orator, he would be recognized also as a chief, and so would be called a *tulafale ali'i*; but we have, as we have seen, more than one explanation of the origin of the use of this distinctive term, and though I am not satisfied that we have a complete explanation of it, I have not the materials for further discussion of the matter. I may, however, point out that, even if the son was originally recognized as being both an *ali'i* and a *tulafale*, it might well be that by a subsequent process of fission, the two offices had become separated. The main point now is that we have evidence showing how some, at all events, of these great *tulafale* families had perhaps originally been sons, or close relations of past *ali'i*.

I have a considerable number of examples, worked out by an investigation and comparison of the historical material, genealogies, and greetings at a *fono*, provided by Krämer, of the actual descent of orators, as he calls them, from chiefs. The difficulty arises, however, that Krämer frequently uses the



term "orator" to designate, not only a *tulafale*, but a *tulafale ali'i*, and though it seems pretty certain in some cases that the orators referred to were merely *tulafale*, in others it is equally clear that they were *tulafale ali'i*, whilst again in others we cannot say which they were. An introduction into this chapter of all these cases, with the detailed explanations and references to Krämer which each of them would require, would prolong the chapter considerably; and, unless I could show conclusively in each case, or in most of them, that the orator referred to was merely a *tulafale*, it would not be evidence of relationship between the two classes of *ali'i* and *tulafale*. I have therefore decided to exclude this evidence.

The *tulafale* having been the heads, coming next after the *ali'i*, of certain lower-class families, we have next to consider the *faleupolu*—the land-owning class next in rank after the *tulafale*. As I understand the matter, the other members of a family of which a *tulafale* was the head would, speaking generally, be *faleupolu*, and on his death one member only would succeed to his office of *tulafale*, as head of the family, and the others would remain *faleupolu*. It is quite possible, however, that there was among the *tulafale*, just as there was among the *ali'i*, a gradual evolution, in successive generations of *tulafale*, of relatively smaller rank. It is obvious that, as the descendants of a *tulafale* increased in number, generation after generation, a number of other heads of families would come into being, each of whom would be the representative of the family of which he was head, in discussions relating to the affairs of the larger family of which that family was a section. The question arises, whether—say a son of a *tulafale*—other than the son who succeeded his father, could be or become a *tulafale*? and if so, was there with the *tulafale*, as with the *ali'i*, a point in the gradual diminution of rank at which the head of a social group ceased to be spoken of as a *tulafale*? It seems to me that, if the answer to the first question is in the affirmative the answer to the latter question must be so also, seeing that the *faleupolu* were regarded as a class below that of the *tulafale*. Brown says that the *faleupolu* included the heads of families, "and those holding an acknowledged position in the different branches of their families"<sup>1</sup>, whatever that may mean. We are not told of any specified stage at which the head of a family ceased to be called a *tulafale*, and, it is probable that there

<sup>1</sup> Brown, p. 432.



was no general and defined rule, even assuming that both questions are answered in the affirmative.

#### SOCIETY ISLANDS

If we may take the socio-political organization of the eight connected groups of the Teva people of Tahiti, as a type of the organization in the Society Islands generally, the inter-relationship of the several grades of *ari'i* must be regarded as probable; also this relationship is, I think, disclosed in the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping." I cannot, however, find any certain evidence that proves that the *ra'atira*, as a class, were related to the *ari'i* as a class, or indicating a similar connection between the *ra'atira* and the classes below them; but there is a little evidence which perhaps throws some light on the matter.

I think the connecting link between the *ari'i* and *ra'atira* was formed by the bodies of people called collectively *hiva* and individually *iatoai* referred to in the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping" and discussed in that on the "Middle and Lower Classes." These people were evidently sub-chiefs of sections of districts ruled by chiefs. They appear to have been related to the chiefs, and we have seen in the latter chapter that de Bovis holds that they were derived from marriages of families of the *ari'i* with those of the *ra'atira*. The idea of social relationship between them and the *ari'i*, on the one hand, and the class below them on the other, is, I think, borne out by the statements as to canoes which have appeared in the same chapter. It is noticeable too that de Bovis does not regard them as a caste, by which he means, I imagine, that they were merely a connecting link between the *ari'i* and *ra'atira*, and might be classed with either one or the other, or perhaps with both.

I have also, in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes," quoted de Bovis's statement that an *ari'i* never became a plain *ra'atira*, or a *ra'atira* an *ari'i*, and Tyerman and Bennet's reference to the making of an *ari'i*. The permanence of the holding by a chief of his title, even if he lost all power and possessions, unless, indeed, the title were formally taken from him on his deposition, is, I think, a wide-spread feature of the Polynesian social and political systems; and the point to which I draw attention is the impossibility or otherwise of a *ra'atira* becoming an *ali'i*. A clue to a possible meaning may



however be found in his reference in the intermediate class of the *iatoai*. Perhaps de Bovis only means that a man never changed by a *single direct step* from one class to the other. This would leave open the possibility that a *ra'atira* might rise to the intermediate class, and afterwards to the *ari'i* class. As a matter of fact, it is improbable that the same individual would often get this double advance. He might rise to the intermediate class, and a subsequent elevation to the *ari'i* class would generally come, not to him, but to one of his successors. Tyerman and Bennet's reference to "the making of an *ari'i*" indicates that a person who had not previously been an *ari'i* might be raised to that rank.

It is impossible to speak with confidence on this subject from such a small amount of material; but my suggestion as to the whole matter is that the several ranks of society may have been connected very much in the way which I have indicated in discussing the genealogical tree introduced into the preliminary consideration of the subject of relationship, the *iatoai* often representing what I may call cadet branches of the families of the chiefs, and the *ra'atira* representing cadet branches of families of the *iatoai*. There is, I think, an inherent probability that it would be so, and this construction is in no way inconsistent with de Bovis's statements, if interpreted in the way I have proposed. The "making of an *ari'i*" might then be either one of two things. It might be the formal ceremony of conferring a title of a dead or deposed chief upon his successor; or it might be the recognition of titular rank in some member of a chief's family, who did not succeed to that chief's title, but to whom was given some other minor title, which would pass down afterwards to his successors, these forming a titled family which would be a branch of that of the original chief.

There is no evidence with which I can carry the discussion to ranks below that of the *ra'atira*; but there is no reason for imagining that any system of relationship prevailing as between them and the chiefs would not also prevail as between lower classes and them, in a similar way.

#### HERVEY ISLANDS

We have seen, in the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping," Gill's reference to the symbolic conception by the people of Rarotonga, under which the chiefs were regarded as the large tubers, and the landed proprietors "by blood related



to" the chiefs, as the surrounding smaller tubers, of the arrowroot plant; also William Gill's reference to the relationship of some, at all events, of the land-owners to the *ariki*; and I draw attention to Moss's evidence appearing in that chapter, and my discussion of it, including that of the use of the terms *ngati*, *vaka* and *hapu*. Then again, in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes," we have Moss's statement that the *komono* were sons of *rangatira*, other than the eldest, who was the successor—a distinction quite consistent with the general idea involved in the discussion of my genealogical tree. So also, it has appeared in the chapter on the "Powers of Chiefs" that an *ariki* of one district might only be a *mataiapo* of another.

#### MARQUESAS

In the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping" I have been able to show relationship of some of the chiefs of districts to the king in one of the valleys of the Marquesan island of Nukuhiva, and have drawn attention to their use of the term *ati*, the equivalent of the Rarotongan *ngati*; and we have seen, in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes," that only the eldest son of an *akaiki*, or chief, inherited the title, the other children being only *kikino*, a term in which the writer whom I quoted included the rest of the population.

#### PAUMOTU

In the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping" we have the statement that in the Paumotu the chiefs, as a body, and their families were related to the king, and here again we have the use of the term *ngati*, and it is possible that the evidence in the chapter on the "Middle and Lower Classes" points to the same thing, though the matter is there obscure.

#### NIUE

I draw attention, as regards the island of Niue, to the evidence which has appeared in the chapters on "Social and Local Grouping" and on the "Middle and Lower Classes" as to terminology, and my comments on it.

#### OTHER POLYNESIAN ISLANDS

I have nothing to add to the information which has appeared in the chapters on "Social and Local Grouping" and the "Middle and Lower Classes."



## CHAPTER XXXIV

### NAMES AND TITLES

#### PERSONAL NAMES

WE must, in considering the subject of names and titles, distinguish between personal names and the names or titles of families and other social groups; and I will first deal with the subject of personal names—that is, the names given to, or adopted by, individuals.

In Samoa, according to Turner, when a woman was about to give birth to a child, prayers were offered to the god of the family of the father; but if the case was difficult or tedious the god of the family of the mother was invoked, and the child was associated with the god to whom prayer was being offered at the moment of delivery, and was called the *merda* of that god<sup>1</sup>. He was thus named after the god, and continued to be so during infancy and childhood; but after that a name was given to it<sup>2</sup>. Wilkes says that the naming of a child took place sometimes before birth<sup>3</sup>. According to Kubary, boys received their names at the time of incision<sup>4</sup>. In the Society Islands a child was, on birth, given the name of some member of the family of either the father or the mother, and was regarded as belonging to the family from which its name had been taken<sup>5</sup>. In Mangaia, at convenient intervals, the young people were summoned to their respective family *marae* to be publicly named, this being done by the sacred king<sup>6</sup>. In the Marquesas a name was given to a new-born child<sup>7</sup>. In the Paumotu the ceremony performed on the birth of a child included the giving to it of a name<sup>8</sup>; and a king's son might, as will be seen directly, be the recipient of a number of names. In Rotuma a child was named at birth, the name being chosen by the parents and pronounced by the priest<sup>9</sup>. A Uvea child received its name at birth<sup>10</sup>. In the Melanesian Island of Fotuna, a child's name was given to it soon after birth by the father or

<sup>1</sup> Turner, pp. 78 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 63 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Jardin, p. 196.

<sup>5</sup> Lesson, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 436.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> *Globus*, vol. XLVII, p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> Gill, *Myths*, p. 38.

<sup>9</sup> Montiton, vol. VI, p. 491.

<sup>10</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 17.



mother or a friend<sup>1</sup>. In Aneiteum a boy was named by its nearest male relative, and a girl by her nearest female relative<sup>2</sup>.

Tyerman and Bennet say that in Tahiti children did not take the names of their parents; each person had his own name. The name chosen for a child was sometimes connected in some way with the circumstances of its birth or a subsequent event. Tyerman and Bennet also refer to a Tahitian practice of choosing names from local or incidental circumstances<sup>3</sup>. According to a Samoan legend, the child of the rocks and the earth, the ancestor of the *tuimanu'a*, was born covered with wounds, and was therefore named Manu'a<sup>4</sup>. So, in the Samoan legend of Pili, we find that he had twin sons, who were called Tua and Ana, the former name being derived from the back of a turtle, which Pili caught at the time of the birth, and the latter from the cave in which it was taken; the name of the next, Tuamasanga, meant "after the twins"; and that of the fourth child Tolufale (three houses) was, according to one view, connected with the three houses into which the mother was taken before the child was born<sup>5</sup>. These are, of course, merely legends, but in matters of this sort legends often reflect recognized practices. Brown gives actual Samoan illustrations of the custom; he speaks of a child called Alanga-i-Taua, because it was born at the moment of war when the cry was made that the fight had begun; whilst another was named "Trampled by a pig," because the child had been hurt in this way before being named<sup>6</sup>; so also we are told that in the Marquesas several names were sometimes given to a child, but he would only keep one of them. This name generally had a particular significance; some circumstance or other, either before or after its birth, a fact relative to the new-born, or a physical quality, was taken for a name<sup>7</sup>. Smith refers to a Paumotuian custom, on the birth of a child of a king, for his subjects to assemble to offer their congratulations, and he gives as an example of this the attendance of nineteen persons, each of whom gave the child a different name. The character of the names given varies; several of them were descriptive of an attitude or act, such as "Standing," "Returning," "Walking," "Teaching," "Speaking," "Falling," and they include such names as

<sup>1</sup> Gunn, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Lawrie, *A.A.A.S.* vol. iv, p. 708.

<sup>3</sup> Tyerman, vol. i, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Turner, p. 223. One of the meanings of this word is "a wound."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 233 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Brown, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> Jardin, p. 196.



"Family," "Love," "Afraid," "Made famous," "Becoming old"<sup>1</sup>. Wilkes says that in selecting names in Samoa, there was no discrimination between the sexes<sup>2</sup>. Tyerman and Bennet say the same thing as to Tahiti, and give as an example of an absence of sex distinction, a curious case in which the name of a boy meant "a bad woman," and that of a girl meant "a good man"<sup>3</sup>. Baessler refers to the case of a child, whose navel string was, after being severed, wound twice round its head, and who was therefore named *pito* (navel)<sup>4</sup>. Turner puts the matter very broadly, as regards Samoa, by saying that the animal and vegetable kingdoms, places, occupations, actions and passing events furnished them with the principal names; and sometimes the name of a god superior was taken by a chief<sup>5</sup>. The name given to a child in Uvea was never that of its father, but that of a bird or fish, or some other selected expression<sup>6</sup>.

In Tahiti people could change their personal names as often as they liked<sup>7</sup>. The reason for making the change was often a very insignificant and absurd one<sup>8</sup>. For example, the name of the husband of Porea of Papara, and father of Teri'irere, at the time of his son's birth, was Tevahitua; but, because of the boy's habit of winking, he changed it to Amo (the winker)<sup>9</sup>. Similarly Pomare I was originally named Tu; but on the birth of his son (Pomare II) he changed his name to Tinah<sup>10</sup>. At a subsequent date he gave up this name, and took the name Pomare, which meant "night of cough," the reason being that he had caught cold, which caused him to cough, and so have a sleepless night<sup>11</sup>. Again afterwards he changed his name to Vairatoa<sup>12</sup>. In Samoa the *mania*, or favourite son of a chief, who did not inherit the title till his father's death, always had a great number of names, given in earnest or jest, as occasion arose<sup>13</sup>.

Davies refers to a Society Island custom of commemorating events, both personal and public, such as accidents, sickness, deaths, etc., by taking new names. He says a father would take the name of *avae mai* (diseased foot), because his child, or

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XII, pp. 234 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 147. Cf. Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 265; Bligh, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 412.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 99, 106. His name of Tu seems to have passed to his son (Pomare II) on birth, and it may have been a family name.

<sup>7</sup> Ellis, vol. II, p. 70. Cf. Ari'i Taimai, p. 106; Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 412.

<sup>8</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 106.

<sup>9</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 137.

<sup>10</sup> Baessler, *N.S.B.* p. 126 note 2.

<sup>11</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 42.

<sup>13</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. I, p. 32.



some other member of the family, had been suffering from a bad foot. Another was called *iriti*, because some person of the family had died of convulsions. Another was named *piha-ati*, because a relative had been buried in a coffin made of the *ati*. He says this method of transmitting historical circumstances—national, domestic and individual—was frequently adopted<sup>1</sup>. Baesslerer refers to the same matter. He says that in the families of the *ari'i*, not only all the *fetii* [relations] present, but the subordinates of the family received new names which often alluded directly to the event, and he gives examples. A woman, on the death of her daughter, aged twelve, received two new names, of which one meant "ill" and the other referred to the last stage of illness of the dying. When the daughter of the king of Ra'iatea married, she made an excursion with her young husband; and in commemoration of this, all who had joined in it took new names, of which one was the name of a slope in a valley which had been visited<sup>2</sup>. Other examples of the custom are given, but they all refer to deaths. De Bovis says the names of Tahitians generally signified a sacred family memory, such as the last word pronounced by an ancestor on his death bed, or the illness of which he died<sup>3</sup>. Pomare I, having lost a son, was about to bury him on the shore, but the sea filled the receptacle prepared for the corpse, so he hung the body on an *aito*-tree; in memory of this event he chose a name which commemorated it<sup>4</sup>. Mrs Hort tells us that when the eyes of a dying man rested on any particular article of clothing or furniture, members of the family adopted it for a name, dropping the one they had before<sup>5</sup>. Pomare III, who died at the age of seven, was in his last illness constantly calling—in English—for water; so his "feeding father," on his death, adopted the name of Uata<sup>6</sup>. The Spaniard Maximo, who was greatly regarded by the chief Vehiatua of Tahiti, had conferred upon him, upon the chief's death, the name of one of his ancestors, and was asked to answer to it, and not to his own name, whenever he was so called<sup>7</sup>. In Mangaia, of the Hervey Group, the people used many names, associated with divers events in their lives<sup>8</sup>. Death was a signal for change of names amongst near relatives. A chief adopted the name "Press-me," because his dying grandchild repeatedly said "press me," in

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *Dict.* pp. v sq.

<sup>2</sup> De Bovis, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs Hort, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Baesslerer, *N.S.B.* p. 125 note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Tyerman, vol. II, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> Ari'i Taimai, pp. 176 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 114.



hope of obtaining ease from pain<sup>1</sup>; and when the king's son was stolen by Peruvian slavers, the king said his name for the future should be "Lost son"; and he actually retained this name after the son had been restored<sup>2</sup>. Another chief took the name of *pai* (canoe) when his son was drowned<sup>3</sup>; and another took the name of *kavoro*—"skin and bones," by which name he was known in Gill's time, on account of the death of his mother, who wasted away to a skeleton<sup>4</sup>. In Niue also, according to Smith, people often changed their names on the death of a relative; the name adopted generally had reference to the event, to the cause of death, or some circumstance attending it<sup>5</sup>. In the Melanesian island of Futuna, if a child, when growing, showed bad qualities, the friends, thinking he was becoming like some bad person who bore the same name, changed it, believing that they would thereby alter the child's nature<sup>6</sup>.

Apparently what took place was, sometimes at all events, an actual change of name, the old name being abandoned. This is stated, in the case referred to by Mrs Hort, in Tahiti, and I believe it was so as regards the names Amo and Tinah, as it certainly was as regards Pomare; and Gill calls it a "change" of names in Mangaia. Whether or not this was always so is a question which we do not seem to be in a position to answer.

It was the custom in Tahiti, and some other Polynesian islands, to secrete the bodies of their dead chiefs, so that they could not be found and carried off by enemies. The *Duff* missionaries say that in Tahiti these bodies were, in war, as liable to be taken prisoners as the living, and were as great a trophy as an enemy slain in battle. The man who took a dead chief's body might assume that chief's name, and the conqueror might lay claim to the district allotted to him, according to their law of succession<sup>7</sup>. I think the name must in this case have been the family name or title, and not the personal name; but the idea that by taking a dead chief's name a man might become his successor and so become entitled to claim his land, is remarkable, and it is possible that the statement does not mean exactly what it appears to do. There is, however, an indication that a somewhat

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 175 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Gunn, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. xi, pp. 207 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, p. 349.

<sup>7</sup> Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 202.



similar idea prevailed in the Marquesas, for Tautain refers to succession as being either natural or in consequence of murders; and in a note to this he gives the word *hupiu* as meaning "to kill one of your own people, in order to take his name, and become celebrated"<sup>1</sup>. In Tonga, according to Baker's dictionary, the term *fehingoaki* is a verb, indicating "two persons taking each other's name as a challenge." Mariner says it was customary in Tonga for every professed warrior, before he went to battle, or expected the coming of the enemy, to give himself the name of some one particular person, whom he meant to single out and fight, and he refers to the case of a warrior who proudly called himself *fanna-fonnoa* (a great gun), declaring that he would run boldly up to a cannon, and throw his spear into the mouth of it<sup>2</sup>, which in fact he attempted to do<sup>3</sup>. So in the Marquesas they had, according to Moerenhout, a similar custom of personal challenge, though there is no mention of the taking of the name<sup>4</sup>. There appears to have been some significance in the practice of taking the name of a living enemy by way of challenge; and it is possible that the *Duff* missionaries have given us the explanation of it.

Jardin says that in the Marquesas a man doomed as a victim for sacrifice could sometimes save himself by declaring that he bore the name of a taboo chief; the efficacy of the method being attributed by him to the great respect with which the people regarded the custom of taboo<sup>5</sup>.

In the Society Islands an initiate entering the *areoi* society received a new name<sup>6</sup>, a custom highly suggestive of a connection between entrance into this society with the idea of initiation, as found in parts of Melanesia. Perhaps a similar idea is disclosed by the Marquesan custom, recorded by Tautain, for a newly tattooed boy to be given a new name<sup>7</sup>.

The Polynesian custom for the people, on the arrival of visitors, to choose from among them friends, each of whom was a specially-privileged person with the man who had selected him, and who looked after him, attended to his wants, and defended him, is well known. The custom of exchanging names is also well known, and according to some writers was one of the incidents of this choosing of friends, called in

<sup>1</sup> Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, p. 548.

<sup>2</sup> Mariner, vol. I, pp. 139 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 493.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 164.

<sup>6</sup> Jardin, p. 191.

<sup>7</sup> Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, p. 557.



Tahiti *tayo*. There is no doubt that this process did often include an exchange of names, but I am not satisfied that it always did so; I shall therefore confine myself here to evidence in which exchange of names is actually mentioned. The customs prevailed as between natives also, and not merely as between them and white men.

The Malietoa, or king of Tuamasanga (Samoa), gave his name to Williams, who thereupon became entitled to the respect due to him, was greeted under his name, and was addressed in the language used in speaking to chiefs of the highest rank<sup>1</sup>.

D'Urville says that in Tonga the term for a friend, called in Tahiti *tayo*, was *ofa*, and the bond of union between a man and his *ofa* was sealed by an exchange of names<sup>2</sup>. He gives as an example the case of a white man who had exchanged names with a Tongan chief, and was therefore regarded as the son of that chief's mother<sup>3</sup>. A chief of Tongatabu exchanged names with Cook<sup>4</sup>; and another chief, who had exchanged names with the secular king, exercised the privilege of the latter in paying as little court as possible to the sacred *tuitonga*<sup>5</sup>. When Brierley went ashore, a chief exchanged names with him; and he was told by this chief that he must apply to him for anything he might require<sup>6</sup>. Forster refers to the case of a woman who, with her father, had befriended one of the members of Cook's party when he was alone, and was being attacked, and says that she took this man's name<sup>7</sup>. Monfat refers to a case in which a Tongan chief gave his name to a missionary<sup>8</sup>; and Veeson says that each of the natives wanted one of the white men to be his *tayo* or friend, which he speaks of as a sacred temporary arrangement customary in all the South Sea islands, made and ratified by an exchange of names between the parties<sup>9</sup>.

The Spaniard Maximo reports that Tu exchanged names with him, an act which was regarded as a bond of the highest favour<sup>10</sup>; afterwards the same thing occurred elsewhere with Tu's brother<sup>11</sup>. He also refers to a case of a chief addressing him by the chief's name, though he does not, as regards this, mention an exchange<sup>12</sup>; and another case in which a chief's

<sup>1</sup> Williams, pp. 457 sq.

<sup>2</sup> D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. iv, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. v, p. 301.

<sup>4</sup> Forster, *Voy.* vol. ii, p. 178.

<sup>5</sup> Veeson, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 166.

<sup>7</sup> D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. ii, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Cook, vol. iii, p. 181.

<sup>9</sup> Brierley, *J.R.G.S.* vol. xxii, p. 116.

<sup>10</sup> Monfat, *Tonga*, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. iii, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 167.



subjects addressed him by the name of their chief<sup>1</sup>. Pomare I exchanged names with Bligh<sup>2</sup>. The chief of Huahine exchanged names with Cook<sup>3</sup>; so did the chief of Ra'iatea<sup>4</sup>; so did another Tahitian chief<sup>5</sup>. Pomare I made Turnbull his *tayo*, and exchanged names with him<sup>6</sup>. Wilson was asked to take the second wife of Pomare I as his *tayo*, which he did, exchanging names with her<sup>7</sup>; so it is evident that the relationship could subsist as between a man and a woman<sup>8</sup>. Forster refers to the way in which a number of natives would select as friends a number of white men, exchanging names with them<sup>9</sup>. In the legendary account of the origin of the *areoi* societies, we find the founder and the chief of Ra'iatea *taking the same name*, evidently as a bond of union<sup>10</sup>.

Shillibeer refers to the Marquesan custom for a chief to take a *tayo*, who was, equally with himself, entitled to what his house and district afforded, the process being accomplished by exchange of names<sup>11</sup>. Porter, having exchanged names with one of the great Nukuhivan chiefs, was under an obligation to go to war to avenge a curse uttered against that chief's deceased mother by another tribe, the reason alleged being that she had become Porter's mother<sup>12</sup>. He was also told by the wife of a chief, with whom he had exchanged names, that he was now her husband and the father and grandfather of the chief's children and grandchildren, and that they all looked to him for protection<sup>13</sup>. So also Fanning describes the affectionate treatment he received from a Marquesan king, who exchanged names with him "for life," promising that all ships coming from his nation should be treated as dearest friends<sup>14</sup>. Radiguet says the Marquesan name for the relationship was *ikoa*<sup>15</sup>.

The Spanish records tell of the custom of exchanging names in the island of Taumaco, of the Duff Group; the chief of the island exchanged with the Spanish admiral<sup>16</sup>; the natives generally did so with such of the travellers as they took a fancy to<sup>17</sup>; and the importance which they attached to the operation is

<sup>1</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Cook, vol. I, p. 231; vol. III, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. VI, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, pp. 64 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> Shillibeer, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> Radiguet, vol. XXII, p. 433.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 228.

<sup>10</sup> Bligh, p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 157.

<sup>12</sup> Turnbull, p. 138.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Forster, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 178.

<sup>14</sup> Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 488.

<sup>15</sup> Porter, vol. II, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> Fanning, pp. 190 sq.

<sup>17</sup> Quiros, vol. II, p. 361.



illustrated by the anxiety they showed to disclose their own names and ascertain those of their visitors<sup>1</sup>. The same practice is reported from Sikaiana where the people not only took great pains to learn the names of their new visitors, but already possessed names which it is said "they had beyond doubt" taken from sailors and captains with whom they had previously been in communication<sup>2</sup>.

I am inclined to think that this practice of exchanging names was not a mere formality, but may have involved, or had its origin in, a Polynesian conception under which a man's name was identified with the man himself, and that therefore the person to whom he gave it was, in a sense, the man himself. I draw attention to the Tahitian evidence that an enemy, securing the body of a dead chief, could by assuming his name, succeed to his land, and to the Marquesan evidence of a somewhat similar character. Is it not possible that there was here an underlying conception that by taking his name he actually became his successor, and so acquired the right to inherit the land? I may refer, in connection with this matter, to some Marquesan methods of placing protective taboos upon people's property. One way, according to Krusenstern, of tabooing anything—a house, or plantation, or tree—was for the owner to declare that the spirit of his father, or some king, or indeed any other person, reposed in the house or tree, which thereupon bore that person's name, and no one dared touch it<sup>3</sup>. If this statement had stood alone, I should have believed that Krusenstern referred only to the soul of a dead person; but a further illustration of the matter by Langsdorff shows that it might be the spirit of a living person. He says that, if, say a pig, had been stolen, and the owner guessed who was the thief, he would give to the pigs or trees of the suspected person his own or another man's name, whereby, according to native idea, those articles became possessed, or bewitched; for they believed that the spirit of a dead or living man was in the things, and sometimes this belief was sufficient to impel the thief to abandon his property, and settle down elsewhere. Pigs that were *nateta*, or possessed, might not be killed. All people could cause the fruit of their trees to be possessed, and thus make them taboo<sup>4</sup>. Christian refers to the use, as a sanction to enforce a taboo, of the name of Tana-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Scherzer, vol. II, p. 614.

<sup>3</sup> Krusenstern, vol. I, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> Langsdorff, vol. I, p. 182.



Manaoa, a deified mortal, the god of a tribe, and worshipped in one district as a household god<sup>1</sup>.

It seems to me that Krusenstern's statement points to an idea that by giving the name, perhaps of only a dead man, to the house or tree his spirit would in some way become actually immanent in it, and the same idea as to the spirit of either a dead or living man is suggested in Langsdorff's statement as to the possession or bewitchment of the property of a thief. Christian's evidence says nothing about any actual giving of a name to the object to be tabooed, and so may have no bearing upon our present subject. If we are to suppose that there was some sort of identification, or belief as to what I may call a supernatural association of a man's name with the man himself, there is, I think, some justification for a suggestion that the practice of exchanging names had perhaps behind it an idea that each of the two persons actually acquired, in a sense, the identity of the other, although it would be recognized, and all narratives show that it was recognized, that each of them retained his own identity.

There are one or two specific matters in the evidence which would not necessarily in themselves point to this, but which may be viewed in the light of the supposition. The man who exchanged names with the Tongan chief was regarded as the son of the chief's mother. Porter, having exchanged with a Marquesan chief, was put in the same position in relation to the deceased mother of the latter; and after another exchange became the husband of the chief's wife, and the father and grandfather of his descendants. Mere adoption into a family or other social group would carry with it certain rights and duties, but not, I think, quite such as are here disclosed. If a woman adopted a man as her son, she would be regarded as his mother; but I doubt if this result would necessarily follow his adoption, as a brother, by her son; nor am I prepared to say that adoption by a man would confer upon the person adopted the position of an ancestor of that man's descendants.

There is one point of uncertainty to which I must draw attention. Was the exchange of names a temporary or a permanent arrangement? Veeson says that in Tonga it was temporary; in the Marquesas the exchange with Fanning was for life; and the Sikaiana evidence suggests at all events that it was not merely temporary. We therefore cannot answer the

<sup>1</sup> Christian, *J.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 190.



question; nor can we assume that the answer would be the same in all cases.

The practice of exchanging names is closely connected with certain general customs as to the mode of treating strangers who arrived on an island; but the general subject of these customs does not come within the scope of this book, though I hope to deal with them at a future date.

### FAMILY NAMES AND TITLES

Family names and titles were those of families or other social groups. They belonged to the groups, but passed by succession to and were held by the persons who were for the time being their recognized and duly appointed heads; that is to say, it was the heads who were addressed and spoken of by the names or titles of the groups. It is quite clear that this was so; and the fact is disclosed from time to time in the evidence that has been introduced into previous chapters. I am unable to offer any definitive distinction between what are called in English "names" and "titles" respectively, except that "title" is the term commonly used for the name held by a person who was called an *ariki*, or its equivalents, such as *ali'i*, *ari'i*, *eiki*, *hakaiki*, as the head of a social group. I may point out that, in the case of a group, composed of a number of sub-groups, the name or title of each of the sub-groups would be held by its head; and if the head of one of the sub-groups was, as such, the head or chief of the group, he held, it seems, not only the name or title of his own sub-group, but a title representing the group also. It appears, however, that there was a custom for the chief of a sub-group of a relatively large or important group, bearing the title of the sub-group, who became head chief or king of the group, to govern the latter under the titular name of his own sub-group, his lordship over the whole group being indicated by such terms as *hau* (Tonga), *ari'i-rahi* (Tahiti), *patu-iki* (Niue) and *fakpure* (Rotuma).

The titles beginning with the prefix *tui-* were not family or group titles in the same sense, *tui* merely meaning a head chief or king; the social groups whose heads held these *tui*-titles, had their family names or titles also. Thus the family name held by the *tuitonga* was Fatafehi, and there are instances in which he is spoken of by writers by this name<sup>1</sup>; so Moa or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cook, vol. v, p. 425.



Moa-atua was the family name of the *tuimanu'a*<sup>1</sup>, and Tupua (Satupua) was that of the *tuiaana*<sup>2</sup>. I may refer, in connection with this subject, to what has appeared in the chapter on "The Chiefs." We start with the title *tui-fiti* (king of Fiji), which Hocart regards as having been an old Fijian title that had died out there, though I may say that it still survived in Samoan and Tongan legends, and in parts of Samoa Tui-fiti was worshipped as a god. We find this title exemplified by the cases of the *tuimanu'a*, *tuiaana* and *tuiatua* of Samoa, and the *tuitonga*, *tuihaatakalaia* and *tuikanokubolu* of Tonga. It thus appears to have been applicable primarily to very great chiefs. Hocart, however, found in Samoa a title of *tui-lau*, whose origin was presumably in the Lau islands of Fiji; and he found a *tui-* title in Rotuma<sup>3</sup>; and d'Urville refers to Tongan chiefs called *tui-vangano* (chief of NOUNGOU-NOUNGOU) and *tui-foua* (chief of NAVOU-TOKA)<sup>4</sup>. These are, I think, the only titles of this character to which I have found any reference; and it is noticeable that they are all of western islands.

It is obvious that the head for the time being of one group, holding the name or title of that group, might succeed to the headship and the name or title of another group also, if he was also a member of that group, and so be the holder of both; and examples of this have appeared from time to time in previous chapters. I propose here to refer only to one of these examples, to which I have drawn attention in the chapter on the "*Marae* as a Social Centre." The head chief of the Teva district of Vaiari, in Tahiti, had two titles, Maheanu, belonging to him in connection with his *marae* called Farepua, and Teri'inui, belonging to him in connection with his *marae* called Tahiti. Both of these were very ancient *marae*; but it seems to have been his Farepua title of Maheanu that he held as the head of the Vaiari group, which was, socially, the leading group of all the Teva. This is illustrated by the fact that a message summoning the chief to a council meeting of all the Teva groups (this would, of course, be after the official headship of all the Teva groups had passed from Vaiari to Papara) was delivered to him as Maheanu of Farepua, and not as Teri'inui of Tahiti<sup>5</sup>, and that the court of Teva chiefs (even after the change in official headship) was held at a meeting

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 366, 368 (note), 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 386 note.

<sup>3</sup> D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. IV, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> *J.A.J.* vol. XLIX, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 9.



house close to the Farepua *marae*<sup>1</sup>. We know nothing certainly as to the origin of the other title; but we have here an example of how a title of a chief, who possessed more than one, would be recognized in connection only, or specially, with the social group as head of which it was held by him. Similarly the family title of the Pomare dynasty of Tahiti seems to have been Tu; but Tyerman and Bennet tell us that when Pomare was in Eimeo, he was styled Teraitua which was his sovereign title there<sup>2</sup>. I cannot trace out this latter title; but I do not doubt that it belonged to him as the head of a family group in Eimeo. A striking example of this is seen in Ari'i Taimai's statement, referred to in the chapter on the "*Marae* as a Social Centre," that her mother was the sole heir to Marama, the head chief of Eimeo, who, through the extinction of the chiefs' families, had succeeded to most of the great names and properties in Eimeo and Tahiti, and as such had a number of family *marae*, of which thirteen were in Tahiti and Eimeo<sup>3</sup>, and with each of which was associated a different title held by her. Samoa, also, presents an example in the need for concentration in one person of the titles of *tuiaana*, *tuiatua*, and two Tuamasanga titles, to qualify for becoming *tafa'ifa* of all Samoa.

I may point out, as to the origins of titles, that if on the death of a chief, say, one of his sons succeeded to his title, it might be that titular rank would be accorded to one or more of his other sons, for whom would be created new titles, which would pass on to their successors. I think this took place in Polynesia generally; but Krämer's genealogies give examples of it in Samoa.

<sup>1</sup> Tati Salmon, *J.P.S.* vol. XIX, pp. 45 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Tyerman, vol. II, p. 65. <sup>3</sup> Ari'i Taimai, pp. 161 sq., 174.



## CHAPTER XXXV

### TESTAMENTARY APPOINTMENTS TO FAMILY NAMES AND TITLES

THE system under which every social group, great and small, had its recognized official head was widely spread in Polynesia; indeed it appears to have been a fundamental feature of the social and political organization of the people, and was probably universal. The father was the natural head of a domestic household; a consanguine family, composed of a number of households, had for its head one of its members; a larger group, composed of a number of consanguine families, recognized one of its members as its head; and so on upwards. The jurisdiction of the head chief or king of a large group extended over all the sections of that group, and that of the head of a section extended over all its sub-sections, and so on downwards; though under the prevailing systems of local self-government of at all events many of the islands each section or sub-section was to a large extent allowed to manage its own purely internal affairs, apparently without interference, by the ruling power or powers, exercised by heads or council meetings or both, of the group or section. The head of every group, section or subsection, who might be a king, a high chief, a minor chief, a middle class man, or the father of a household, had a considerable amount of power in connection with the affairs, and over the members of the group, section or subsection of which he was the head, the amount of this power varying in different places, and with different heads. The character of this power, as applied to external affairs, internal government, administration of justice, and some other matters has been disclosed in previous chapters, and will be further illustrated when we consider the ownership and control of the land and the control of food supply. There were a number of other matters in respect of which it was exercised, but which cannot be discussed conveniently in this book. It is obvious, however, that the official head of a social group, great or small, was an exceedingly important member of the group; and the



consideration of the methods by which were effected the selection of the person who should succeed him on his death is an important matter.

I do not propose to discuss the subject of succession here, or afterwards in connection with election, so far as it refers to the question who would or might be the successor to a family name or title, though references to possible successors may sometimes appear incidentally in the evidence, as this will be the subject for consideration hereafter. I only propose to show, so far as the evidence enables me to do so, who were the persons that decided upon the succession, in the event of the death of the holder of the family name or title, and, what, broadly speaking, were the methods by which it was done. I may say that the evidence in some cases refers to the inheritance of the land, rather than to the succession to the name or title, but that this evidence is admissible as the two went together, though the ownership by the head of a group of its land was nominal in the sense that he held it on behalf of the group.

The matter to be considered in this chapter is a custom for the holder for the time being of a name or title, in his lifetime, to designate the person whom he wished to be his successor—making what writers call his “will,” though of course this was done verbally. Stair says that in Samoa, if the head of a family, holding a title, was supposed to be near death, his friends and relatives were summoned, and he conferred his family name upon some person. In the case of the higher chiefs the matter was more difficult, as the chiefs’ titles always reverted to the districts or settlements conferring them, whose authorities were very tenacious of their right to bestow them. Sometimes the dying chief nominated his successor; but unless the nomination was agreeable to the holders of the titles [by which Stair means the persons entitled to grant them], they would not accede to it<sup>1</sup>. Hood says it did not always follow that the people would abide by the chief’s choice<sup>2</sup>. Ella tells us that the appointments by chiefs were subject to the assent of the tribe, and occasionally a clan would select its own chief, or sever its connection with its own tribe<sup>3</sup>. He also says that appointments by chiefs had to be sanctioned by the *tulafale*<sup>4</sup>. According to one of the French missionaries, when a father was about to die, he

<sup>1</sup> Stair, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 631.

<sup>3</sup> Hood, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. VI, p. 597.



breathed on his son, saying, "Receive the succession of my office, with all the wisdom necessary for fulfilling it." He says that the Samoans believed that it was with the spiritual order as it was with the natural order, and that it was necessary for powers to be transmitted. He alone who possessed these powers, yielded them to whom he pleased, and when he pleased, and he who received them had no objection to make. "Let him do what he is told to do, and let him go to the place where he is told to go"<sup>1</sup>. Fraser says that Samoan parents made their wills, and disposed of their property by word of mouth, and this mode was binding on all the children<sup>2</sup>. The "property" would include the land which went with the title. Schultz says that the possessor of the name appointed his own heir, and the family had to consent to the choice; though, if the person chosen was too young, a *locum tenens* was appointed; but he had to vacate when the heir came of age<sup>3</sup>. Krämer says that a dying title chief usually selected a near relative to be his heir, and that this right of testament was called *mavaenga*; effect was generally given to his wish unless there were special reasons against it<sup>4</sup>. A king, in selecting his successor, not only took into consideration the latter's personal qualities, but especially considered the high descent of his mother, because he [the king] knew that the *tumua* [the electors at the seat of government] would favour such an appointment on account of the wealth of the mother's family<sup>5</sup>. When the king was dying the *tumua* usually appeared [I understand Krämer to mean that the king told them personally of his proposal] and allegiance was given to the successor, mainly from fear of the spirit of the dead; but a special granting of the titles on the part of the *tumua* was always necessary afterwards<sup>6</sup>. Von Bülow says it was free to every head of a family to appoint a successor or to bequeath the duty to the family to be performed after his death<sup>7</sup>. Stuebel says, in effect, that no one could dispute an appointment by a late head of a family<sup>8</sup>, and, in discussing the question of adoption, refers to the cases of the adoption by a chief of a son of a *tulafale*, and the adoption by a *tulafale* of a son of a chief, and he tells us that in both cases the person who did so could direct that the adopted child was to be his successor<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. LI, p. 68.      <sup>2</sup> Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIV, p. 203 note 9.

<sup>3</sup> Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 52.      <sup>4</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. I, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Krämer, *Globus*, vol. LXXV, p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXIII, p. 186.

<sup>8</sup> Stuebel, p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 121 sqq.



There are one or two points in this Samoan evidence to which I wish to call attention. In some cases the power of testamentary appointment of a successor is spoken of only as exercised by chiefs. In others the testator referred to was a father or head of a family, or "the possessor of the name," and it is not said that they were necessarily chiefs. I think that this fact, coupled with Stuebel's reference to testamentary appointment by a *tulafale*, justifies us in thinking that the custom prevailed among both the chiefs and the middle classes. The evidence is somewhat contradictory as regards the binding character of an appointment made by will; but if we look into it we find that the only cases in which this binding character is asserted refer to fathers or heads of families or possessors of the names, not stated to have been necessarily chiefs. It may be that in a case which affected only a relatively small group of simple construction, whatever was its rank, the will of the father or other head would be accepted after his death by the members of the group; whilst, if that group was a section of a larger group, and was the section, the holder of whose name or title would be the person entitled to succeed to the chieftaincy of the larger group, and the latter succession had to be agreed to by representatives of the other sections of the larger group, the question of succession would not be so simple, and the will of the dying head would not be so conclusive. This is, I think, what Stair means when he says that in the case of the higher chiefs the matter was more difficult because the title reverted to the district or settlement. I do not imagine that this difference between the two cases would be fundamental, in the sense that in one case the will was binding and in the other it was not, or that there was a sharp line of differentiation between the two; my idea is rather that in actual practice the will almost had to be accepted in the simple case, whilst in the more complicated case it might or might not be so, according to circumstances. Ella's "tribe" and "clan" are apparently a group and a sub-group; and his evidence, though far from clear, may merely point, somewhat loosely, to the selection by a sub-group of its own chief, which, if the chief for the time being of that sub-group was also the chief of the group, would require assent by persons representing the entire group. I do not understand exactly what Ella means by saying that a "clan" might sever its connection with its own "tribe"; but I may point out that a sub-group might arise through an inter-



marriage between members of two groups, or through an adoption of a member of one group into another, and so might be regarded, at all events in a sense, as a branch of both groups. It would, I think, as a rule, be more especially associated with the group of the paternal ancestor, or the group with which it lived; but in case of a quarrel with that group, it might go off to the other. The French missionary's reference to the father breathing on his son is interesting, and I shall refer to it later on.

In Tonga the successor to the secular throne was, according to West, nominated by the departing ruler, and was confirmed or otherwise afterwards<sup>1</sup>. Thomson says that two conditions weighed with the electors to this kingship—the dying wishes of the late king, and the relative power and authority of the candidates<sup>2</sup>, and he gives two examples of a king making such a nomination<sup>3</sup>. Brenchley also refers to the practice<sup>4</sup>. In Père A. C.'s dictionary I find the word *talatuku* given as meaning the "last will (*dernière volonté*) of a dying man," "recommendation by last will," "to recommend by last will." I gather from this that the practice of willing was not confined to kings and chiefs.

In Tahiti, according to the *Duff* missionaries, if a man on his deathbed bequeathed his property to another, no person disputed the bequest, as there were always plenty of witnesses to the bequest, if the heir was not there<sup>5</sup>. Ellis says the practice of devising by will was employed not only as regarded land, but for other kinds of property also. It was done verbally only, but was considered a sacred charge, and was usually executed with fidelity<sup>6</sup>. An example of the custom is provided by the statement that Pomare II, before his death, nominated his successor, and regents to take charge during the successor's infancy, these things being carefully settled with his chiefs the day before his death<sup>7</sup>. I find in Davies's dictionary the word *tutuu*, meaning a bequest, legacy or will; also counsel or advice left by a dying person with friends and relations; and the word *aepau*, meaning the last dying breath; a bequest by a father to his son; wisdom or learning obtained by a son from his father.

In Mangaia [or perhaps the Hervey Islands generally] according to Gill, the chief of a tribe could make a will, which

<sup>1</sup> West, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 349, 355.

<sup>4</sup> Brenchley, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, pp. 325 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Ellis, vol. III, pp. 115 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 194.



was made known to the elders of the tribe, and either ratified or modified<sup>1</sup>. Moss also refers to the same practice in Rarotonga<sup>2</sup>. Des Vergnes speaks of the practice of making verbal wills in the Marquesas, and says that they were sacred, and no offence was committed against them. He is talking of different sorts of property; but I fancy from the context that it would apply to the family land among others<sup>3</sup>. I find no reference to any will-making custom in the Paumotuian islands; but we have seen the story of the voyaging of Anua Motua, and of his distribution of various islands among his children. On referring again to the story, as told by Caillot, I find that this distribution followed an enquiry as to the persons to whom he was going to bequeath his kingdom<sup>4</sup>. It seems probable therefore that the practice prevailed—at all events in Mangareva. Thomson says that in Niue a man had testamentary power over his house, his land, and his personal effects<sup>5</sup>. Gardiner refers to a practice, in the island of Rotuma, for a dying man to apportion out his land among his sons and sons-in-law; but he adds that the land was none the less under the *hoang* or family, and subject to payment of first-fruits to its *pure* or head<sup>6</sup>. He is referring apparently to the case of a family which was one of a number of families forming the *hoang*, so that whatever the man arranged would necessarily be subject to the social system of the *hoang*. There is a record of the appointment by a Fotunan king of his successor<sup>7</sup>; and of a Uvea king "advising" his first minister whom to choose as his successor<sup>8</sup>, which advice was followed<sup>9</sup>. In Funafuti, of the Ellice group, land passed, according to Hedley, by will on the owner's death<sup>10</sup>. There is a confused story from which it appears that the *ariki* of Bukabuka (Danger Island) appointed his granddaughter to succeed him on his death, which she did<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 718.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. XXXI, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 485.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 351.

<sup>6</sup> Hedley, p. 61. Cf. Mrs David, p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> *J.P.S.* vol. XXI, pp. 123 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 204.

<sup>10</sup> Mangeret, vol. II, p. 320.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 353.



## CHAPTER XXXVI

### ELECTIVE APPOINTMENTS TO FAMILY NAMES AND TITLES

#### PRELIMINARY

WE have seen that the head of a social group had in some of the islands of Polynesia the power of directing or advising who was to be his successor, and that, though in some cases apparently—perhaps more especially in the cases of relatively small groups of simple structure—his decision would presumably be carried out, there was a custom, under which the election was in the hands of certain people, who decided after his death who was to be his successor. I now propose to disregard these appointments by will, and to confine myself to considering elections taking place after the death of the person for whom a successor had to be found. I again repeat that I am here only dealing with the matter broadly, and that some of the evidence may actually mention only inheritance of the land, and not succession to the family name or title, but that these in fact went together. I shall not include the subject of installation ceremonies, which must be considered at a future date.

#### SAMOA

I will commence the consideration of election in Samoa with the cases of the great chiefs or kings. The successor would be a member of the royal family, a close relation, generally a son, of the king, so the question of the person to be selected would be a matter of supreme interest among the members of this family; but it would also be a subject of vital importance to the people of his dominions as a whole, each main district of which would have at its head an important chief, responsible for its affairs, whose relationship to the royal family would as a rule be ancestral, rather than close. I therefore refer again to the *usoali'i*, bodies of chiefs, more or less closely related to head chiefs and kings, and acting as their personal counsellors, and to the *faletui* (called *aloali'i* or *faleaana* in Aana, *faleatua* in Atua, and *anoalo* in Manu'a), who were important head



chiefs of certain village districts forming parts of Aana, Atua and Manu'a respectively, were apparently ancestral relations of the respective kings of those main divisions, and were consulted by them on important matters affecting the division as a whole, and especially on questions of war. We find that there was a practice for the *usoali'i* to consider among themselves the question of finding a successor<sup>1</sup>, arriving at a decision and imparting their opinion to the *tulafale*<sup>2</sup>—that is, to the elective body of whom I am about to speak; and for the *aloali'i* of Aana also to take counsel on the matter, and impart their wishes to the *tumua*<sup>3</sup>—that is, the governmental centre of Aana, and the official seat of the elective body for that division. I think we must here regard *tulafale* and *tumua* as being used with the same meaning. As regards the intervention of the *faletui*, our information is confined to the case of the *aloali'i* of Aana; but it is extremely probable that a similar practice prevailed in the other divisions of Samoa. It seems clear, as to both these consultative bodies, the one representing the royal family, and the other the views of the heads of the great districts, that they could only make representations, and that the electoral colleges, as I may call them, though they would doubtless be greatly influenced by these representations, were not bound to comply with them; indeed it seems obvious that this might be so, for the two consultative bodies might not agree in their wishes; and we are told, moreover, that the decision of the electors had to be unanimous<sup>4</sup>, which would hardly be the case if all they had to do was to elect in accordance with instructions previously imparted to them.

Turning now to the actual election, I must draw attention to what has already appeared in the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping." I referred there to the "House of the Nine" (Aana), the "House of the Six" (Atua), the "House of the Three" (Manu'a), and the "House of the Nine" (Tuamasanga), who elected the kings of those respective divisions, and have pointed out that these "houses" were groups of *tulafale ali'i*, or orator chiefs, the representatives, bearing the family names or titles, of families that had possessed the right of disposal of the titles for generations past. I admitted my inability to prove, except in a limited degree, the relationships of these elective

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XI, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Krämer, *Globus*, vol. LXXV, p. 187.



chiefs to the families of the kings whom they elected, but gave reasons for thinking they must have been related. Now, however, the question of relationship of the electors touches a fundamental point in the question of succession, so I will refer to evidence which, though not clear, exact or reliable, throws a little light on the matter.

The nine elective families of Aana ["House of the Nine"] were, as I stated, the Sausi, Salevaonono, Sava'a, Samoa, Lepou, Ilia'e, Niuapu, Sapini and Folasaitu, and they lived at Leulumoenga, the governmental centre of Aana.

I refer, as to the families Sausi and Salevaonono, to what has appeared in the chapter on "Political Areas and Systems" with reference to the traditions as to Pili and as to Lealali, who, though accounts differ, was regarded as having been a descendant of Pili. Though I believe Pili to have been a Manu'an, he was closely associated with Upolu, and especially with Aana, for the sons between whom he divided Upolu were sons by a daughter of a *tuiaana*, and we have seen other signs of a Pili connection with this division. Later, according to tradition, Lealali directed that his two eldest sons, Sausi and Salevaonono, should remain at Leulumoenga, in order that they might rule for the *tuiaana*. In the early prehistoric portion of Krämer's genealogy of the *tuiaana* I find the name of Leopili, whose son Pilisosolo was a *tuiaana*<sup>1</sup>; and this further suggests an association of Pili, and, perhaps in consequence of this, of Lealili with the early royal family of Aana. Connecting all this material together, it is highly suggestive of an original relationship with the *tuiaana* of the families Sausi and Salevaonono, who up to modern times took part in controlling the *tuiaana* title.

Passing now to the Sava'a family, I find that Fonoti, a son of the *tuiaana* Faumuina, was *tuiaana* seven generations back from Krämer's time<sup>2</sup>. This Fonoti is said to have made an agreement with his brother Va'afusuanga, the founder of the great Taulangi family, that the *auahuma* [the unmarried women with the *taupou* at their head] of the latter should be tended by Leulumoenga, and by Fasito'otai and Fasito'outa [two important village districts near Leulumoenga]<sup>3</sup>. Apparently Va'afusuanga was a name of the Taulangi family, because I find in the greetings of Fasito'otai, a welcome to "the *matua* Va'afusuanga," which Krämer identifies as referring to the

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 168.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 170 sq.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 207.



Taulangi family; in the same greeting I find a welcome to "ye two leaders," which Krämer identifies with Fasito'otai and Fasito'outa<sup>1</sup>. Then, in the greetings of all Aana, I also find a welcome to "ye two leaders," which Krämer again identifies with these same two village districts, saying that they took a leading place in war and peace, and had a voice in the election of the *tuiaana*<sup>2</sup>. It appears therefore that the Taulangi family, founded by Va'afusuanga, continued to be represented by a head called by this last name, which means that it was a family name; that this representative was welcomed as "the *matua*" in the Fasito'otai greetings; that the family was specially associated, not merely with Leulumoenga, but with Fasito'otai and Fasito-outa, and that these two village districts were welcomed as "ye two leaders" both in the *fono*, held at Leulumoenga, of all Aana, and in that of Fasito'otai also<sup>3</sup>; that they took a leading place in war and peace, and took part in the election of the *tuiaana*. The descriptive terms of *matua* and "ye two leaders" indicate that they were leading orators—presumably in this case orator chiefs, Va'afusuanga being the head of the Taulangi family, and the other two orator chiefs of the two respective village districts.

It will be seen that all this material is consistent with the story of the agreement between Fonoti and the original Va'afusuanga. The question arises, is it possible to identify the name Sava'a with that of Va'afusuanga? Now the Samoan word *sa*, according to Pratt's dictionary, is used as a prefix before names of persons, signifying "the family of." One finds from time to time names which are evidently the same, but in which the prefix *sa* appears in one place, and not in another. According to the same dictionary, *fusuanga* means a boxing match. I may therefore suggest that the original Va'afusuanga was perhaps the head of a family called Va'a, a descriptive addition having been made, Polynesian fashion, to the name, to commemorate a successful fight in which a member of the family, perhaps the Va'afusuanga referred to, had been engaged; and that Sava'a of modern times was the family of Va'a. If this construction is in fact correct, the Sava'a family, which was specially associated with these two village districts, that took part in granting the *tuiaana* title, may have been the same

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> The same person or group was often greeted more than once by different names or descriptive terms at the same *fono*.



as the Va'afusuanga, which was another name of the Taulangi family. The name Taulangi is not included in Krämer's list of nine elective families of the *tuiaana* with which I commenced this discussion, which is difficult to explain, if we are unable to identify the Taulangi with some one or other of the names appearing in the list of these families, but which is cleared up if we can identify them with the Sava'a family; and as to this I may point out that a family with two names might be greeted by either of them. There is therefore ground for suspecting that the Sava'a family was descended from a previous *tuiaana*.

My investigation of the Sapini family has not produced anything very definite. Va'afusuanga (the brother of Fonoti, mentioned above) had for his fifth wife a woman of Fanga, in Savai'i<sup>1</sup>. The greetings of Fanga show welcomes, first to the *faleaana*, second to Pini and Vaisau, and third to Laufiso and Tapuala; and Krämer's explanation of these is that the *faleaana* first greeted was the *faleupolu* "which in the form of the four following orators derives from Aana"<sup>2</sup>. The net result is that there was in Fanga, in Savai'i, a group of people, some, at all events, of whom may have been descendants of the brother of the *tuiaana* Fonoti (their father also having been a *tuiaana*) through that brother's marriage with the Fanga woman; that the greetings of Fanga commenced with a welcome to four orators, first as a group, and then individually by name; that Krämer says that these orators derived from Aana; and that the first name mentioned was Pini, who—adding the prefix *sa*, as above explained—might be the same as Sapini. It must be borne in mind that Pini and Sapini, were family and not individual names. The orator Sapini (as I will call him for the purpose of argument), welcomed at Fanga, would probably not be the same person as the head of the Sapini family, who in Aana was one of the House of the Nine. But if we may identify them as being connected with the same family, then we perhaps may conclude that the Sapini family of Aana was descended from a previous *tuiaana*.

As regards the Folasaitu family, I find that the *tuiaana* Tamalelangi [the father of the first *tafa'ifa*—the celebrated woman Salamasina] had for his first wife the daughter of Folasaitu of Faleata [in Tuamasanga] and that they had a son Tuala, who was the founder of the great Satuala family of Aana<sup>3</sup>. The only genealogy following this marriage which

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 99.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 53.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 169; cf. p. 176.



Krämer gives us is that of the Satuala family, descended from Tuala<sup>1</sup>; but there may well have been other children, besides Tuala, of the marriage, founders of other families, and one of them may have been the founder of a Folasaitu family in Aana; and if so, that family would have been descended from a *tuiaana*. Referring to my discussion, in connection with the Sava'a family of the use of the prefix *sa*, I draw attention to the fact that the family founded by Tuala was called Satuala.

I admit that my efforts to trace possible past relationships between some of these elective families of Aana and past *tuiaana* have been of a somewhat complicated and speculative character; but the materials at our disposal are not sufficient for producing anything more exact. Taking them as a whole, I think that, speaking generally, they point to the probability of such a relationship. I have not been able to trace the matter out in the cases of the other elective families of Aana.

The "House of the Six," who granted the *tuiaua* title, were, as we have seen, Inu, Manuo, Tuoa, Fa'asau, Moefa'ano and Mata'afa. The only family of these whose origin I have been able to trace was the Mata'afa. I have referred in the chapter on "Social and Local Grouping" to the great Salevalasi family, related to the *tuiaua*; and Krämer's Salevalasi-Mata'afa genealogy shows that one of the Salevalasi head chiefs had, as one of his wives, the daughter of Mata'afa of Faleata [in Tuamasanga] and that in this way the Mata'afa title passed to the Salevalasi family<sup>2</sup>.

I cannot investigate the origin of the "House of the Three" who granted the *tuimanu'a* title, as I cannot ascertain the names of the families. I have tried to trace back the relationship to past Malietoa of the families who granted the Malietoa title, and to collect corresponding information as to some other great Samoan titles, but the insufficient, and sometimes confused and inconsistent character of the evidence made it impossible for me to do so.

Though the *usoali'i* and *faletui* both considered and arrived at decisions as to the most suitable successor to a dead king, the election did not, as we have seen, rest with them, as they could only make recommendations to the electoral colleges, composed of heads of groups of families who had the duty and the right to decide. I have been able to trace back to their sources, or possible sources, apparent or possible relationships

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 296.



to the royal families of some of these electoral families; and even as regards those whose relationships I have not been able to show, my efforts to do so have convinced me that in some cases, at all events, their positions as electors had originated in the past, and had remained in the same families; though, as in one or two cases additional electoral families appear to have been added to a then-existing group, we must believe that similar changes may have occurred in the distant past, and that the electoral families disposing of any one title have not always been quite the same. My statement as to this ancestral origin of the electoral families, whose relationship to the royal families cannot be shown, is based upon the general effect produced by a considerable quantity of detailed and disconnected evidence, and an attempt to prove its accuracy would add immensely to the length of this chapter, and might not be successful; but I may quote, with reference to the matter, a statement by Krämer that the right of disposing of the titles [he is evidently speaking of titles generally, and not only of those of the kings] belonged to certain great orators at the seats of government, where the respective title chiefs usually lived. This right was connected with special orator names [*Sprechernamen*], which passed as family names from father to son, sister's son, grandson, etc., according to his [presumably the father's] decision, or eventually through that of the family council<sup>1</sup>.

It must be borne in mind that these electoral families were, as we have seen in previous chapters, the same as the families of orators, using the term in the broad sense, so as to include both *tulafale ali'i* and *tulafale*, who took a leading part in the *fono* of the group of which the chief whose title they controlled was the official head. Thus the "House of the Nine" in Aana, the "House of the Six" in Atua, the "House of the Three" in Manu'a, and the "House of the Nine" in Tuamasanga, had the double office of taking the lead in the *fono* of those four divisions, and of electing their kings.

Another matter to which I have referred, and must again draw attention, is that the decision by an electoral college to grant a title had, Krämer tells us, to be unanimous, in order to be effective. Krämer gives an illustration of the working of this requirement. A Malietoa, who possessed the two Tuamasangan titles requisite for a *tafa'ifa*, or king of all Samoa,

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 10 sq.



had been made king by European influence, although he did not possess the necessary titles of *tuiaana* and *tuiatua*, and so was not qualified. It is true that the *tuiaana* title had been granted him by one of the Aana electors who had gone over to him, and the *tuiatua* title by an Atua elector who had done so; but the titles had not been granted by the electoral groups, and so were not validly held. The other members of the *tumua* [the seats of government, where the controlling groups of orators lived] of these two divisions wanted to grant the titles to some one else; but they could not do so without the concurrence of these two deserters<sup>1</sup>.

I have, up to this point, been considering the elective systems of the royal families, but I think that the systems of, at all events, the leading families of chiefs, would be similar. The method of election which I have tried to explain was somewhat peculiar, in that the elective bodies were not either the *usoali'i*, more or less closely related to the kings, or the great district chiefs who formed the *falelui*. They were representatives of certain specific orator families in most of whom the right of election had been vested for long past, though they listened to the advice of both the *usoali'i* and the *falelui*. With this double advice they would be in possession of the views of the royal family, looking at the matter from the internal family point of view, on the one hand, and of the actual rulers of the greater or more important parts of the king's dominions, looking at it from what may often have been a totally different point of view, on the other; and the relative importance of the two opinions offered to them may have depended sometimes upon the relative power of the royal family and of the nobility for the time being.

Assuming that this same system of election, or something approaching it, prevailed in the cases of some chiefs of the more important groups, we should expect, as regards the heads, some of them, perhaps chiefs, of smaller groups, that the systems of election would become simpler, and the relationships of the persons elected to their electors would become closer. I therefore propose now to refer to some statements of a general character, and afterwards to try to arrive at a conclusion as to their interpretation.

Wilkes gives an account of an election which appears to have been merely a family affair, using the term family in a restricted

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *Globus*, vol. LXXV, pp. 186 sq.



sense. A chief named Pomale had died, leaving an only son, also named Pomale, and an adopted son, named Mowna. There was a family meeting to elect the successor, Mowna having engaged beforehand in intrigue against Pomale. Both Pomale and Mowna were present at the meeting, and Mowna, adopting a dejected and silent mien, left the decision to the meeting. Pomale then, being asked his opinion on the matter, said, "with his usual modesty," that he was in favour of Mowna; so he lost his succession, for Mowna was elected<sup>1</sup>.

Stair says that the title of one of the higher chiefs always reverted to the district conferring it, and the authorities were very tenacious of their rights of bestowal, and were not bound by the will of the recently-deceased chief<sup>2</sup>. Speaking of the *fono*, after referring to the discussion of mere local affairs by the leading men of the village or district, he says that more weighty matters, such as declaring war or making peace, the appointment and installation of chiefs, or indeed any matters of general importance to the whole district, were deliberated upon in a general *fono* of the whole district, composed of representatives of the different settlements and villages of the district<sup>3</sup>. Stair gives an example of a chief who nominated his successors to the head chieftainship of two districts over which he ruled; but, as the nominations did not give satisfaction to the constituencies represented, they refused to sanction them, and left the matter in abeyance. In one of the districts the parties were divided; but, as the chief nominated for that district was backed by a powerful following, his title was often acknowledged in courtesy, although it was not formally bestowed upon him; sometimes the nomination of a chief was completed without difficulty; but, as there were often many competitors for the honour, especially for the higher chieftainships, the elections were fruitful sources of contention and difficulty, and at times of bloodshed<sup>4</sup>.

Turner relates an old tale about the district of Aana, which suggests that curious methods may have been adopted at times in the selection of a king. A king of Aana being wanted, and kings being "rather scarce," two men went off, disguised as women, to a village thirty miles away, and kidnapped a newly-born chief, whom they brought back in triumph, and the child eventually became king of Aana<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Stair, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 75 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Turner, p. 247.



Krämer says that the head of a Samoan family having died, it became necessary for the members of the family to elect a fresh one and bestow upon him the family name, following the wishes of his predecessor or otherwise; only the head for the time being could bear this name, the other members having only personal names of their own<sup>1</sup>. The name was always granted by the family<sup>2</sup> and its holder ruled over the family<sup>3</sup>. So far as the mere family name was concerned this was evidently all that was necessary; but Krämer says that in the case of chiefs with titles something more was needed for conferring upon the newly-elected head of the family the title which belonged to it, and this could not be effected by the family itself. It would appear that this granting by a higher power of the title was always preceded by the granting by the family of the name<sup>4</sup>; but as to this I am not quite certain. The people in whom the power to grant the titles was vested were certain great families of orator chiefs, connected with the areas to which the titles applied; and the right was exercised by the orator chiefs, who for the time being represented those families, and who were the great orators at the seats of government of those areas<sup>5</sup>. In each case a unanimous decision was requisite<sup>6</sup>. In deciding between relative claims of several sons of a departed chief, the orator chiefs would take into consideration, not only the personal qualities of the respective candidates, but the ranks, and still more the riches (represented in mats) of their mothers<sup>7</sup>; indeed any nomination which had been made by the departed chief would probably have been influenced by the same consideration, he knowing its weight with the electing orator chiefs<sup>8</sup>. The candidates selected had to give these orator chiefs valuable mats in payment for their titles<sup>9</sup>; and it would seem from Krämer's statements that the importance in the minds of the electors of the wealth in mats was not entirely based upon patriotic and altruistic feelings as to the good of the family or the community; though, as the candidates with the highest social positions were generally the richest, and therefore considered the most desirable successors, the fittest candidate from the point of view of social rank would generally be he who could be most liberal to his electors. Krämer, however, refers, in connection with this question, to the low and

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 479, 476.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 258, 479.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 10 *sq.*, 480, 482.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 480.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 482.



sordid greed of the highest orator chiefs<sup>1</sup>. This attitude is illustrated by the story of the children of Muangututi, a *tafa'ifa* or king of all Samoa. By his "will" he, in effect, directed that the succession on his death should pass, not to his own son Fepuleai, by his second wife, but to a youth, named Tupua, who had been adopted by his first wife. The king having died, the question of succession had to be decided by the great orator chiefs of Leulumoenga, who controlled the *tuiaana* title, and of Lufilufi, who, as controlling the *tuiaua* title, co-operated with their colleagues of Aana<sup>2</sup> in discussing the question of the holding of the official position of *tafa'ifa*<sup>3</sup>. At the outset of the discussion the two bodies of orator chiefs said of Tupua, "Is this the boy that shall be in our presence? Let us first see where his families are." The answer to this enquiry was the successive piling before them by one after another of the families related to Tupua of heaps of valuable mats; and when this was finished, the orator chiefs came to the conclusion "We have enough mats," and Tupua was chosen<sup>4</sup>.

Krämer also refers to the acceptance by orator chiefs of mats from "the ordinary chiefs of Aleipeta"<sup>5</sup>, which was merely a district, though a powerful one. Krämer says the Salevalasi family had the first claim to the *tuiaua* title<sup>6</sup>. It was necessary that the man to be elected should belong to one of the two great families of Atua—the Salevalasi or the Safenunuivao—for thus only could he raise the mats necessary to pay for the title<sup>7</sup>.

According to Churchward, the local name [he speaks of "family" and "local" names] was given by the people of the place to the man whom they considered fittest to hold it, perhaps the most successful warrior, or the wisest councillor; although the name might be given to any one, it was rarely bestowed out of certain families connected with the place, and traditionally supposed to supply a man fit for the position<sup>8</sup>.

Von Bülow says that, though every head of a family could in his lifetime appoint his successor, he could bequeath the

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Each of the two groups of orator chiefs would be independent of the other as to the title it controlled. The need for co-operation would be a practical one, arising from the holding by the person jointly selected of the office of *tafa'ifa*.

<sup>3</sup> Of course those in control of the other two titles requisite for royalty would have to give their assent. But Leulumoenga and Lufilufi took the lead in the matter.

<sup>4</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 207 sq. See also pedigree on pp. 171 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 280.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 279.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 270.

<sup>8</sup> Churchward, p. 336.



matter to the family to regulate after his death<sup>1</sup>. The chiefs' names and the names of the head chiefs of villages, were hereditary in the family. But the *ao* (great titles) were not hereditary, though the holder must belong to certain families; these titles were granted by places and districts<sup>2</sup>. The council of a place did not interfere respecting disputes within the same family, except to prevent excesses. Such disputes referred to the name of the family, which was perhaps claimed by several members of the family at the same time<sup>3</sup>.

Schultz says that the question as to which of the expectant heirs would be the one upon whom the choice should fall depended partly on the possessor at the time, and partly upon the other members of the family. An appointment by him required the consent of the other parties and, if he made no will, the appointment of his successor took place by unanimous family decree. When the *matai* [the head of the family] was dead, and the succession was arranged, the heir might not at once assume the name until a meeting of the whole village had been convened. The first meeting in which he took part had the significance of a universal acceptance of his new position. He received the kava for the first time under his new name, and the celebration ended with a meal at the expense of his family<sup>4</sup>. The Samoan titles were lent by certain companies of speakers (*fale-upolu*) to the members of high chiefs' families, and paid for by the borrowers with a number of fine mats. At the decree [? decease] of the possessor, the title did not die out, but required again the process of lending and payment<sup>5</sup>.

According to Stuebel, the granting of the chief's name lay sometimes with the greater chiefs, sometimes with individual villages, sometimes with whole districts<sup>6</sup>. After describing the inauguration of a *tuiatua*, he says that, in addition to the high dignities, individual places in the different districts granted high names called *ao*, and when these names were conveyed to a chief, it meant that he was proclaimed *ao*-bearer<sup>7</sup>. Speaking of a chief (not the Malietoa) of Tuamasanga, he says that he had the *pule* [authority] with his name. In case of his death, he could appoint his successor, and neither the *tulafale* nor any individual village exercised any *pule* in this direction.

<sup>1</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXIII, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, pp. 52 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Stuebel, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 47 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 95.



Their *pule* extended to the chiefs only in one point; when a chief led a bad life, and acted cruelly and wrongly towards the village, and it was known that he did evil, the whole village assembled, drove out the chief, and conveyed the name to another member of the family<sup>1</sup>.

Unfortunately we do not know exactly with what meanings individual writers use the terms "family," "village," "district," etc., so we can only compare their statements in a general way; but I think that a consideration of the evidence enables us to acquire a little insight into some of the main principles of Samoan elective systems.

The election to the headship of a domestic family, after the death of the father, of, say, one or other of the sons, or the election of the head of a relatively small consanguine family, would, I should imagine, be effected by the other members, or perhaps by some of them (say, in the case of a consanguine family, by heads of its branches), in a somewhat informal way. This would account for the absence of specific evidence as to the people who did this; and an election of this sort may be referred to, or be included, in the statements by Wilkes, Krämer (as to election by members of a family), von Bülow (as to the family regulating the succession), and Schultz (as to appointment by family decree).

The matter would, so far as many families were concerned, end with this election; but where a number of families together constituted a larger social group, and the holder of the name of one of those families was the person who should hold the name or title of the group, it can readily be understood that the other families of the group might require, so far as the name or title of the group was concerned, to have (through their representatives) a voice in the matter. They might have to elect him to the headship of the group, and this was apparently what was done. I associate with this part of the system of election Stair's reference to the reversion of the titles of the higher chiefs to the districts, the right of its bestowal being held by the district authorities. I think this is the matter to which Krämer refers when he says that, when the family bestowed upon one of its members the headship of the family, the title had, in the case of a titular chief, to be conferred by another power; and as to this I draw attention to the apparent need for the granting by the family of the name to precede the

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 110. Cf. p. 122.



granting of the title. I also associate with the matter von Bülow's reference to the granting of *ao* titles by places and districts, and Schultz's statement that the heir to the family name had to await a meeting of the whole village [apparently my village district], this referring presumably to a case where the owner of the family name was an eligible or proper holder of the name of the group occupying the village.

Which of the families forming sections of the group would be qualified to have the name or title of the group bestowed upon its head? In considering this matter we must bear in mind the distinction between "descent" and "succession." The question which family, with its head, stood highest in rank of blood would be a matter of what I am calling "descent," not involving any question of election; but a study of Krämer's genealogies shows that this was the family to whose head was usually granted the "succession" to the official title of the group, the title generally passing to a son or descendant of the last head chief. But, just as some one or other member of a family might be elected to the headship of the family, so some one or other family of the group might, we should expect, be elected to the titular headship of the group. In illustration of this, I may point out that in Tahiti the Vaiari family, the highest in blood rank of descent among the Teva people, whose head chief had formerly been the official head of all the Teva, and who still retained their priority in rank of descent, had lost their official headship of all the Teva, this having passed to the head chief of Papara. I call attention, as to this matter, to Churchward's statement that the "local name," though given to the person considered to be the fittest, was rarely bestowed out of certain families; which I interpret to mean that there were certain families, the head of one or other of which generally received the title of the entire group, but that the selection would depend upon the relative personal fitness of the respective heads of those families. Von Bülow's statement that the *ao*, or great titles must be given to certain families, relates to the same matter. So also we find Krämer's statement that the Salevalasi family had the first claim to the *tuiatua* title, and that in any case it should belong either to them or the Safenuiuvao family. I may point out, as regards the possible transfer from one family to another of the title of the group, that the titled families of Samoa were so much mixed up by intermarriages that an apparent transfer



from family A to family B would often not be a transfer strictly speaking, the successor elected being in fact a member of both families. I may also mention Schultz's statement, referred to in my "Observations" on "Political Areas and Systems," as to alternate succession in Samoa. If he is correct it is just possible that Krämer's statement here is connected with the same practice.

I imagine that this system of double election would or might apply, in some form or other, to all cases where the elected head of a relatively small group would be the proper head of a larger group, of which the smaller one was a section. It might apply, I suppose, to the election of the head of one or other of several domestic families to the headship of the larger consanguine family. It did apply, in the form of a discussion by two bodies of people, and perhaps of a grant of the family name (as distinguished from the title of the group) by the more closely-related body of *usoali'i*, followed by the granting by the electoral colleges of the royal titles of the kings of the great divisions. And a connecting link between the practice in the cases of the election of chiefs and kings respectively is found in Krämer's reference to the acceptance of mats by orator chiefs from the "ordinary" chiefs of Aliepata, which was an important district of Atua.

The next question that arises is, who were the actual electors or elective bodies? I have assumed that in the case of a domestic or small consanguine family they would be the other members of the family, or some of them. We have seen that in the case of the royal titles they were electoral colleges, composed of the heads of a number of families, which had ancestral rights of election, as to some of whom it appears that their origin could be traced to the royal families, but who would not themselves usually be closely related to the families whose titles they controlled. This system of ancestral electorates could hardly be applicable to the case of a small family as it was to that of the royal families, with their long pedigrees; but the question arises, at what stage of complicated social development and length of pedigree did the system begin? To this, I can only reply that there are not materials enabling us to answer the question, but that I should imagine that there was no hard and fast line in the matter.

There are a few other points arising from the evidence to which I must call attention. Stuebel's statement that the



granting of the chief's name lays sometimes with the greater chiefs, sometimes with whole districts, sometimes with individual villages (I have altered the sequence in which he places the alternatives), is not, taken by itself, very instructive; I think he is only referring to the graduated relative ranks or importance of the heads of major and minor groups of people, and the consequent graduated ranks of the electors (from *tulafale ali'i* downwards) to the names of those groups. I must point out, as regards Turner's reference to kidnapping a child to be the successor to the title of *tui'aana*, that there is no evidence to show that this child, though thirty miles away, was not of a family which was qualified to succeed, and I think that the family must have been so qualified. Krämer, in his statements as to the persons who could grant the titles of chiefs, always speaks of these persons as "orator chiefs." This seems to have been so, in the main at all events, as regards the titles of kings, and would be so, perhaps as regards leading chiefs; but it would hardly be so as regards minor chiefs, whose electors would presumably be *tulafale*, and not *tulafale ali'i*. I draw special attention to Stair's inclusion of "appointment and installation of chiefs" among the matters dealt with by a *fono* of the whole district. No other writer has suggested that the appointment (in the sense of election) of a king or great chief was effected at a general *fono*, and I am not disposed, in view of the other evidence as to election, to accept this as correct. I think what he means is that the name of the person selected by the electoral college would be called out at the *fono*, and would be accepted; or, if not so, this would probably mean revolution, and perhaps civil war. I think this *fono* is the first meeting in which he took part, and received the kava under his new name as stated by Schultz, and I refer, as to this, to what seems to have been the practice in Tonga. It is, of course, possible that in the case of a minor chief the family discussion as to succession would be what might well be called a small *fono*. One other matter to which I draw attention is the references to the giving of mats to the electors, and especially to Krämer's reference to the greed of the highest orator chiefs as regarded this matter. The subject of Samoan mats is outside the scope of this book; but I may say that certain mats seem to have been used almost as a medium of exchange, and that they appear to have passed backwards and forwards, to some extent, as between chiefs and their subjects, the former making payments in mats to the latter on certain



special occasions, whilst the latter would provide mats for the former on others.

### TONGA

We have seen that in Tonga the direction as to succession contained in the will of a departing ruler was confirmed or otherwise afterwards (West); the electors were influenced by his dying wishes, and by the relative power and authority of the candidates (Thomson). It seems then that there was some system of election to succession to the kingship, and the question is what was this system? It may be that the method of electing a *tuitonga* or sacred king, whose office apparently was always kept in the same family, and generally passed from father to son, was not the same as that of electing the *hau* or secular king, who might, as I regard the matter, be a member of either of the two great families, the Haatakalaua or the Kanokubolu. I have, in my "Observations" on "Political Areas and Systems," discussed the question of a possible system of alternate succession as between these two families.

I find no statement as to any system of election adopted specially in the case of a *tuitonga*. In quoting evidence as to the election of a secular king I shall sometimes refer to him as the *hau*, even in cases where writers do so by the name of one or other of the two families mentioned above. West says the selection of a king was restricted wholly within the limits of the *hau* blood; the election was carried out by the *kau matua*, or council of higher chiefs, and then by the great body of chiefs<sup>1</sup>. He also describes a kava party at which the *hau* was inaugurated. It was attended by chiefs from all the Tongan islands, who sat in the circle, whilst the commoners were outside the ring. Two chiefs sat, one on each side of the "king elect," these being two of the *matua* or "fathers." The object of the ceremony was the public calling out of the title of the king, this being done when the kava was poured into his cup<sup>2</sup>. The Duff missionaries were not sure whether the office was hereditary or elective<sup>3</sup>. D'Urville says the *hau* was elected<sup>4</sup>. Home refers to the election of a *hau* by the chiefs, and then speaks of the inauguration ceremony<sup>5</sup>. Veeson refers to a *hau* as having been elected "by the voice of the chiefs" and describes a kava party at which the name of a chief was called out as being the person

<sup>1</sup> West, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, p. 384.

<sup>4</sup> D'Urville, *Astro*, vol. iv, p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Home, p. 582.



who was to be king, and he was unanimously elected, as none dared oppose him<sup>1</sup>. I cannot say who were present at this gathering. According to Mariner, the *hau* [he means Finau—not the *hau* or king of Tongatabu] derived his right to the throne partly from hereditary succession, and partly from military power<sup>2</sup>. He says elsewhere that the right to succession to property, including landed property, was regulated by the order of relationship, as also was the right to succession to the throne<sup>3</sup>. He also tells us that the king was frequently chosen from a family not of the highest rank, on account of his superior wisdom or military power; and that this was the case with “the present royal family”<sup>4</sup>, by which he meant the Finau “kings” of the Haapai and Vavau islands only, with whom he was associated. The former of these kings died, whilst Mariner was in Tonga, and his son of the same name succeeded him. Mariner says nothing of any election of this second Finau by a group of electors; but he tells us of a kava party held two days after the burial of the deceased Finau, and which he describes as a general assembly of the chiefs and *matabule*. The new king presided and when the cup of the presiding chief was filled the *matabule* who conducted the ceremony cried “Give it to Finau”<sup>5</sup>, the idea evidently having been that the fact of his presiding and receiving the cup, and the use of the name Finau in speaking of him, amounted to recognition of his succession. Finau then addressed the persons present, and, in support evidently of his title, he said “Recollect, whilst I speak to you, that my voice is the echo of Toe Umu, and Ulualu, and Afu, and Fotu, and Alo, and all the high chiefs and *matabule* of Vavau”<sup>6</sup>, this island being the central seat of Finau’s area of government, which did not extend to Tongatabu. Hale says that the title of the *hau* was not directly hereditary, and could only be obtained by suffrage of the chiefs. The district chiefs were nominally appointed by the *hau*; but this appointment had to be made in accordance with certain received usages, and had to be confirmed by the whole body of chiefs<sup>7</sup>. Williams says that in Tongatabu the chiefs were elected<sup>8</sup>. According to Sarah Farmer, royalty was not hereditary. There was among the chiefs a royal family, from which the king had to be chosen<sup>9</sup>. Young says that formerly any member of the royal

<sup>1</sup> Veeson, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Mariner, vol. II, pp. 87 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 94 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 310.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 322.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 324.

<sup>7</sup> Hale, p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> Williams, p. 529.

<sup>9</sup> S. Farmer, p. 140.



family was eligible for kingship<sup>1</sup>. Brierly says the government of the islands was not hereditary, but elective in the royal family<sup>2</sup>. Monfat refers to the confidence of a *hau* that he would be able to impose himself [as a successor] at the "chiefs' *fono*"<sup>3</sup>. The following particulars are extracted from an account of an accession given by Baessler. On 18th February, 1892, the king George died. On the 20th February the expectant heir arrived; there was a chiefs' assembly in the evening, and the "prime minister" proclaimed the heir to be king. On 17th March the anointing and crowning took place in the Court Church. On 21st March the king was handed the first kava cup in the circle of chiefs, this being recognized as the important ceremony. A feature of it was the ordering that the cup should be taken to the person selected, his name being called as "king of Tonga"<sup>4</sup>. Thomson says the office of *hau* was not strictly hereditary like that of the *tuitonga*; but only a member of the royal family could succeed. It was always open to the principal chiefs, who formed the electoral college, to reject any aspirant to the office who was physically, mentally, or morally unfit to reign. They were influenced by the dying wishes of the late king and the relative power and popularity of the candidates. The election took place immediately after the funeral ceremonies, when the entire nation was assembled<sup>5</sup>. He gives an account of a kava ring in which the name of the "king elect" was called out as king when his cup was to be handed to him. The ceremony was attended by chiefs from all parts of the kingdom, and the two chiefs who sat one on each side of the "king elect" are spoken of by Thomson as the "two hereditary kingmakers"<sup>6</sup>. Recent information on several matters which Mr A. Radcliffe Brown has been good enough to give me tells us something about this question of election. He refers to the fact that there were in Tonga a number of *ha'a* of chiefs. This term is defined in Baker's Tongan dictionary as meaning a "tribe" or "class" and in Pratt's Samoan dictionary as meaning "a family connection." I think Brown probably uses the term for a group or family of related chiefs. He gives the names of some of these families, one of them being the *ha'a* Ngata. As regards the question of succession to the title of *tuikanokubolu*, he says it was settled in exactly the same way as was the succession to other chieftainships. He points out that the *tuikano-*

<sup>1</sup> Young, *S.W.* p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Monfat, *Tonga*, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> Brierly, *J.R.G.S.* vol. xxii, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Baessler, *S.B.* pp. 321, 329 sq., 332 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 356.



*kubolu*, who was the highest chief of the *ha'a Ngata* group, was only one chief out of a number, of whom some might be superior to him in rank [meaning, I think, rank of blood], even though he wielded the power of government. The person selected by the deceased *tuikanokubolu* generally succeeded, but he had to be a member of the Kanokubolu family; in case a dispute arose, it was settled, not by the people of the whole of the country, but only by those who formed the *ha'a Ngata* group. There would not in any case be an election, and any dispute would be settled by force of arms. After the burial of the deceased *tuikanokubolu* a day was fixed for the installation of his successor, which always took place on a *malae* near the village of Kanokubolu. Early in the morning of the day of the ceremony the people of the *ha'a Ngata* group, or rather of that division of the group that inhabited part of Hihifo, brought the necessary large supply of provisions. A large kava ring was formed, round which sat certain chiefs with their *matabule* and other followers; but only a few of the chiefs of Tonga took part in the ceremony; many very important chiefs had no place whatever in it, the reason of this being that the title of *tuikanokubolu* was really only a chieftainship, like any other. He refers to the people present as the people of the *ha'a Ngata*. He describes the ceremony, including the calling of the cup of the new king, giving the name by which he would afterwards be known. Mr Radcliffe Brown also says that no chief had any power to appoint anything in the nature of a sub-chief; from which we may assume that the election of a sub-chief was in the hands of his own people.

It seems clear that the successor to a deceased *tuikanokubolu* had to belong to the Kanokubolu family; but as to this I draw attention to what I have already said as to the possible intermixture of, and confusion between that and the Haatakalaua family. They had, as we have seen, a traditional common origin, one being a branch of the other; but any custom of alternate succession between these two families would apply to the holding of the office of *hau* or secular king, and not to succession within either one of the families.

I may point out that some writers distinguish between an hereditary and an elective office, and I imagine that in this they distinguish between an office for which there was a presumed successor (say an eldest son), according to some recognized custom, and an office the succession to which was usually open to two or more competitors. Succession might, as I understand



the matter, be hereditary in the sense that it had to pass to a member of the same family, but elective in that one of two or more members had to be elected. The term "elected" might involve the assumption of some proceeding of a formal character, and in order to avoid for the moment any question as to this point, I will alter it to "selected." I can then draw attention, not only to actual references to election, but also to West's reference to selection of a king from a member of the *hau* blood; to Mariner's reference to the choosing of a king; to Hale's reference to the need for a suffrage of the chiefs; to Sarah Farmer's statement that the king had to be chosen; to Young's statement that any member of the royal family was eligible; to Monfat's reference to a candidate imposing himself at the chiefs' *fono*; to Thomson's statement that only a member of the royal family could succeed, and his reference to the electoral college of principal chiefs; and to Brown's statement that the successor had to be a member of the royal family, and his reference to selection and possible dispute. It was clearly to a large extent a matter of selection, and the only question is by what process was the selection accomplished?

I propose to discuss this matter on the basis of West's statement that the election of a king was carried out by the *kau matua* or council of higher chiefs, and then by the great body of chiefs, and his reference to a kava meeting at which the succession was proclaimed; first pointing out that *kau* meant a troop or body of persons and *matua* meant old people, the term being apparently applied to what I may call "elders," not necessarily in actual age, but by virtue also of official position. I refer, for the purpose of comparison with West's evidence, to Hale's statement that an appointment of a district chief, though nominally made by the *hau*, had to be made in accordance with certain received usages, and had to be confirmed by the whole body of chiefs. I think he is here referring, not to a testamentary disposition by the *hau*, but to a nominal appointment in his lifetime; but whichever it is, he points perhaps to a double process, of which one part followed the other. I refer also to Monfat's mention of a chiefs' *fono*, pointing out, however, that he might in this be speaking of the kava party, and not to any previous consultation of the chiefs. I also draw attention to Home's reference to the election of the *hau* by the chiefs, and subsequent inauguration ceremony; and to Baessler's account of the assembly of chiefs, the subsequent proclamation, and the still later kava party, and to Thomson's reference to



the electoral college of principal chiefs, and to the "king elect" whose name was called at the kava party. Finau's speech, quoted by Mariner, in which he pointed out that his voice was the echo of certain persons whose names he gave, and of all the high chiefs and *matabule* of Vavau, is suggestive of a previous discussion of the matter by these people. We know that there were other possible claimants to the succession<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, we have Brown's statement that there would not, in any case, be an election (I am using his own term here) of a *tuikanokubolu*, followed by his description of the kava party. If Brown only means by this that there was no formal and ceremonial election, and no question of rival candidates referred for discussion at the kava party, his statement would not necessarily conflict with the other evidence, and I think, in view of that other evidence and of his reference to the settlement of a dispute by the people of the Ngata group, that this probably is his meaning.

I think it is clear that there must have been some system of consultation at which the selection of the candidate whose name was to be proclaimed at the kava party was agreed upon and the question arises, who were the people who took part in it, and who were those to whom the name of the person selected was afterwards proclaimed, and who apparently might refuse their assent? West, speaking of succession to the kingship, clearly points to two processes, of which the first was a selection by the council of higher chiefs, and the other by the great body of chiefs; but this latter might simply refer to the acceptance of the elected successor at the kava party. Veeson says it was the chiefs who elected the king, and tells of the kava party at which his name was called out and he was unanimously elected. Veeson does not say whether these were separate events, but I think we may infer it. Mariner's account suggests the possibility of a selection prior to the kava party, but by no means demonstrates it. He refers to both chiefs and *matabule*; but, if there had been a previous selection, we must not assume that the *matabule* took part in it, as they may have been merely spokesmen of certain chiefs. According to Hale, the appointment of a chief had to be confirmed by the whole body of the chiefs, but he does not tell us how it was done. Monfat refers to a claimant to the throne imposing himself at the chiefs' *fono*, by which he may mean a consultative meeting of chiefs, or may only be referring to the procedure at the kava party.

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. 1, p. 302.



Baessler refers to what appears to have been a consultation of chiefs as to the succession, followed by the kava party; according to him, after the former and before the latter the result of the selection was announced, and we should naturally expect that this would be so. I disregard his reference to what took place at the "Court Church," which may have been a modern innovation. Thomson refers to the selection by an "electoral college" of chiefs; and in speaking of the kava party, attended by chiefs from all parts of the kingdom, he calls the chief whose name was called out the "king elect," which points to a previous selection by the college. It will be noticed that, according to him, the two chiefs who sat one on each side of the elected chief at the kava party were the "hereditary king makers." This suggests that these two chiefs were the leading influential members, perhaps the only members, of the electoral college, and that the members of this college belonged to families, who had an ancestral right of selection, a system which would be comparable with the elective system in Samoa.

I think the evidence points to the probability that there was in Tonga what Thomson calls an electoral college, composed of some of the principal chiefs, who decided upon the succession to the secular kingship. This body may well have been similar to the groups of orator chiefs who controlled the succession to the kingships of the large divisions of Samoa, being composed of the heads for the time being of certain great families who had an ancestral right of controlling the title. Probably the decision at which these chiefs arrived would be made known; and afterwards there was a kava party at which the elected king was publicly proclaimed. This kava party was evidently a big and solemn affair, but I do not think there was in its proceedings any selection of one or another of alternative candidates to the succession. It seems to have been held simply for the purpose of proclaiming the king who had been chosen by the electoral college, being in fact a sort of challenge by the selected successor and his supporters to possible opposition; and the settlement by force of arms to which Brown refers would probably be the sequel to non-acceptance at or after this kava party of the selected successor by a group or groups of people who were sufficiently powerful to oppose him<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A fear of opposition to the succession of Finau II on the death of his father, and possible fighting, is disclosed by Mariner (*Mariner*, vol. I, pp. 302 sq., 305 sq.).



This leaves for consideration the question, who would form the kava party?—that is, who would be in the ring, as distinguished from the general body of spectators outside it? West says it was attended by chiefs from all the Tongan islands; Mariner, speaking of the Finau case, refers to a general assembly of the chiefs and *matabule*, but this would probably only include people of the Haapai and Vavau Islands, as Finau was not the *hau*; Thomson says the entire nation was assembled, and that the ceremony was attended by chiefs from all parts of the kingdom, meaning, I take it, that they were in the kava ring. I do not think we must assume that high *matabule* could not be members of the kava ring, for some of them appear in fact to have been what I may call minor chiefs. There would be, outside the ring (see West), a general gathering of the commoners—the entire nation (Thomson).

Brown says that the *tuikanokubolu* was the highest chief of the *ha'a Ngata* group; that a dispute as to succession was settled, not by the people of the whole country, but only by those who formed this group; that only people of this group were present at the kava ring, which he describes as being a large one; and that only a few of the chiefs of Tonga took part in the ceremony, many very important chiefs having no place in it, because, apparently, they did not belong to the Ngata group. The statement that only a few chiefs took part in the ceremony at what Brown calls a large ring seems, at first sight, rather inconsistent; but probably he means that only a few of them spoke at it. The great interest of what he tells us arises from his saying, not only that disputes as to succession were settled by members of the Ngata group only—which in effect means that they alone would control the previous election—but that only members of that group were present in the ring. We have seen, in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," that, according to Tongan traditions, the origin of the dual kingship was the appointment by the *tuitonga* Kau-ulu-fonua of his younger brother Mouna-motua to the secular rule of Tonga, giving him the title of *tuihaatakalaua*; and that a later *tuihaatakalaua*, named Mouna-Tonga, handed over the secular rule to his son Ngata, giving him the title of *tuikanokubolu*; and that it was from this son that all subsequent *tuikanokubolu* were sprung. I have discussed the apparent confusion in the evidence of writers between the *tuihaatakalaua* and the *tuikanokubolu* of subsequent history, suggesting that they were two related



families, one originally a branch of the other, which furnished the *hau*, or secular kings, and that perhaps there was, or had been, a system of alternating succession between what I may call the two royal lines. Ngata himself was a member of the Haatakalaua family; but the Ngata group, to which Brown refers, would be descendants of Ngata, and this name would not belong to subsequent *tuihaatakalaua*, though no doubt the families must have been much mixed by intermarriages. This being so, Brown's statements not only point to members of the Kanokubolu group as being the only people who took part in the election of a *tuikanokubolu* and at his subsequent formal recognition at the kava party, but leave us free to speculate whether the "many very important chiefs" who took no part in the kava ceremony may not have been members of a Haatakalaua group, who alone would elect a new *tuihaatakalaua*, but would not be concerned in an election of a *tuikanokubolu*. If this was so, we have a clear cut case of election and confirmation by members of the family group only, to the exclusion of others, equally important, who were not members. Each group would elect its own head chief; and if the electing group was that whose head chief would be the *hau* of Tonga, they alone would by their election, control the succession to that office. In that case it may well be that possible opposition and consequent fighting might be brought about, not only by dissentient members of the group whose head chief was being elected, but by the other group, who, though they took no part in the actual election, disapproved of the person proposed as a suitable *hau*, or thought that the position of *hau* should be given to their own head chief—that is, they would not oppose what I may call the internal election (I do not see how they could do that)—but they would oppose the recognition of the person so elected as the *hau* of Tonga, whose subjects would be members of both groups.

We have been discussing the election of the secular kings; but I draw attention to Hale's statement that the appointment of a district chief, though nominally made by the *hau* (by which he means, I think, that it must have the approval of the *hau*), had to be made in accordance with certain received usages, and confirmed by the whole body of chiefs, and to Brown's statements that the succession to the title of *tuikanokubolu* was settled in exactly the same way as was the succession to other chieftainships, and that no chief could appoint a sub-chief. If, as is



extremely probable, Brown is right, we may regard the system of selecting a *hau* as applying to other chiefs, great and small (this being done in accordance with what Hale calls the received usages) and, presumably, *matabule* and others, though in these cases the ranks of the electors would be lower in a gradually descending scale, and the element of ceremony and formality would be reduced. It must be remembered as to this that the Finaus were never the *hau* of the Tongan islands, and were in no way concerned in the government of the main island of Tongatabu; they were only head chiefs of the Haapai and Vavau groups.

## SOCIETY ISLANDS

The outstanding feature of the succession to family names and titles in the Society Islands is a custom under which the name or title passed, automatically, as it were, from the father to the child immediately on the birth of the latter. Anderson says that the son of an *ari'i de hoi* [king] succeeded his father in title and honours as soon as he was born<sup>1</sup>. Cook says that, on the birth of a son, a chief abdicated rank and titles, but continued to be possessor and administrator of the estate<sup>2</sup>; he gives an example of a regent being appointed<sup>3</sup>; but this would probably be because the father was dead. According to Turnbull, the son, immediately on his birth, succeeded to the dignity of his father, who from that instant became only administrator for his child<sup>4</sup>. Ellis, speaking of the kings, refers to this as a singular usage, connected with the established law of primogeniture, the father abdicating the throne on the birth of his son. He says this was an invariable, and appeared to be an ancient practice. Whatever might be the age of the king, his influence in the state, or the political aspect of affairs in reference to other tribes, as soon as a son was born, the monarch became a subject, the infant was at once proclaimed the sovereign of the people, the royal name was conferred on him, and his father was the first to do him homage by saluting his feet and declaring him king. The herald of the nation was then dispatched round the island with the flag of the infant king, and the young sovereign's name was proclaimed in every district. If respected, and allowed to pass, this was considered an acknowledgment by the *ra'atira* and chiefs of the child's succession to the government; but if broken, it was regarded

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. vi, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i, pp. 225 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Turnbull, p. 134.



as an act of rebellion, or an open declaration of war. Numerous ceremonies were performed at the *marae*, a splendid establishment was forthwith formed for the young king, and a large train of attendants accompanied him to whatever place he was conveyed. Every affair, however, of importance to the internal welfare of the nation, or its foreign relations, continued to be transacted by the father, and those whom he had formerly associated with him as his counsellors; but every edict was issued in the name and on behalf of the young ruler; the father only acted as regent for his son, and was regarded as such by the nation. The insignia of regal authority, and the homage which the father had been accustomed to receive from the people, were at once transferred to his successor. The lands, and other sources of the king's support, were appropriated to the maintenance of the household establishment of the infant ruler; and the father rendered to him those demonstrations of inferiority which he himself had theretofore required from the people. Ellis says that this custom was not confined to the family of the sovereign, but prevailed among the *ari'i* and the *ra'atira*. In both these classes the eldest son, immediately on his birth, received the honours and titles which his father had hitherto borne<sup>1</sup>. Ellis says it was not easy to trace the origin or discover the purpose of this custom, but suggests that the latter may have been to secure to the son undisputed succession to the father. He says that the son was usually firmly fixed in the government before the father's death, and was sometimes called to act as regent for his own son before he would, according to ordinary usage, have been himself invested with royal dignity<sup>2</sup>; by which Ellis means, I think, before the father's death, which, according to ordinary usage, would be the time when the son succeeded. The *Duff* missionaries say, concerning the Pomare family, that the family name passed to their first-born, whether male or female, the instant it was born, the custom obliging the father ever after to take some other name<sup>3</sup>. They refer to the carrying of the flag of the infant Tu (Pomare II) with reverence through all the districts, to the great *marae*, and to its reverential reception<sup>4</sup>. According to Moerenhout, a son succeeded at birth to the titles and respect due to the father, but not to the authority of the father until the latter was old and infirm. He was not necessarily the eldest son, and might

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, pp. 99 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, pp. 178, 340.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 320.



be an adopted son<sup>1</sup>. Ari'i Taimai says that the son always superseded the father, whose authority, after the birth of a child, was merely that of guardian<sup>2</sup>; and that, in the absence of sons, daughters inherited chieftainship and property in the lands which went with the chief's titles<sup>3</sup>. De Bovis says that, among the *ari'i*, the family head was often an infant, and almost always a young man, because a child became the legitimate chief on birth, the father thenceforth acting only as regent; and that an almost analogous custom prevailed among all families<sup>4</sup>. Corney says that the heir to a chieftom took precedence of his father from the moment of birth, provided that the mother was of rank equal to that of her husband<sup>5</sup>.

The singularity of this custom has induced me to quote writers separately. It is clear that it was a general custom, but the question arises, was it absolutely universal? Most of the evidence points to a definite rule, under which the moment a son, or perhaps a daughter, was born, the succession passed to the child; and if this was necessarily so in all cases, it would follow that the eldest son, or perhaps the eldest child, was the inevitable successor; and Ellis's reference to the case of a son, to whom the title had passed on birth, having himself a son, before, as I understand the statement, the death of his father, and having to abdicate in favour of this son, seems to emphasize a strict rule of primogeniture. Moerenhout, however, says the successor was not necessarily the eldest son, and might be an adopted son; and Corney makes the right to succession, from the moment of birth, depend upon the rank of his mother. I do not think the reference to an adopted son necessarily creates any inconsistency, because it might refer to the case of a childless chief, who adopted a child, who would thereupon become his child, and to whom the right of immediate succession would perhaps pass. So also Corney's reference to the rank of the mother is not necessarily inconsistent with the custom of succession by an eldest child, as it may only involve a limitation as to the grade of rank (through the mother) of the child who was qualified to succeed. Moerenhout's statement that the successor was not necessarily the eldest son may also be based upon the distinction between one son and another, arising from the ranks of their respective mothers, to which Corney refers. If this is not so—if, that is, we

<sup>1</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 12 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> De Bovis, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. III, p. 121 note 3.



are to understand that, independently of this question of maternity, a younger son might succeed, it is difficult to reconcile the statement with the very complete and elaborate recognition of the succession, immediately upon birth, of a first-born of which Ellis tells us. We have seen an example of the independent position which a son might take up, even in the lifetime of, and in opposition to, his father, in the account of the hostility between Pomare II (the then-reigning king) and his father (previously Pomare I).

Ari'i Taimai records an incident, occurring probably in about 1730, to which I will refer. She says that Teriitahia, head chief of Papara, had two sons and two daughters, the daughters being older than the sons, and both the daughters married. The head-chieftainship of Papara was disputed by the two sons, the younger one claiming to supplant his elder brother on the ground that the eldest child, whether male or female, was the only heir who could set up an indefeasible right to the succession, and that, since the eldest child in this case was a woman, and had married, and gone off to Ra'iatea, all the younger children had equal rights, and might with equal justice claim the position of head chief; and the *hiva*, or elective council, supported his claim, and he secured the succession<sup>1</sup>. The question of competitive rights to succession of sons and daughters respectively is not part of the subject matter of this discussion, which relates solely to the question of the definite rights of a first-born child as against other children; but we have in this incident, related by a Tahitian princess, an opportunity of looking at this matter through Tahitian eyes. I do not think that we must assume that the decision of the *hiva* as to the claims of children other than the first-born was necessarily in accordance with Tahitian ideas; and in performing its duties it may well have been influenced, as the elective body, by motives of expediency and the relative desirability of the two men. We have, however, a Tahitian dispute, in which it was definitely contended that the right of primogeniture belonged to the first-born only (in this case a girl) and that, as between other children, there was no question of primogeniture; and I think this incident adds to the probability, arising from the other evidence, of the presumed right of the first-born, arising and accepted immediately on his birth. I think it probable that the dispute occurred after the death of

<sup>1</sup> Ari'i Taimai, pp. 33, 38.



Teriitahia, who, I may say, was born in about 1660<sup>1</sup>, and so may well have been dead then.

I now come to the question of election, as to which I find very little evidence. I have, in discussing the middle and lower classes, referred to the people, called individually *iatoai*, and collectively *hiva*, who were in fact the under-chiefs of a district under the dominion of a head chief. Ari'i Taimai says that they could depose a head chief, and name another<sup>2</sup>, and we have seen that it was the *hiva*, "or elective council," that settled the dispute between the two brothers mentioned above. Baessler says the power of the *hiva* was so great that they could even depose and set up chiefs<sup>3</sup>. Ribourt says that authority was transmitted by way of election to any member of the family of the chief, whose name passed to the newly-elected chief, and became the title of his new position<sup>4</sup>; but Ribourt does not tell us who were the electors. Tyerman and Bennet say that Pomare II, shortly before his death, being surrounded by chiefs and attendants, exhorted them to be "unanimous in their choice" of his successor<sup>5</sup>. Probably the selecting persons referred to by Ribourt and Tyerman and Bennet would be the *hiva*, and it is also probable that the *iatoai* who formed the *hiva* would be relatives of the head chief. I have referred in the chapter on "Council Meetings" to the meetings of *ari'i*, who formed a court that decided questions regarding themselves both socially and politically. These chiefs appear to have been head chiefs of districts, and if they at their meetings dealt with disputed questions of succession, we have an example of a concurrent jurisdiction possessed by the sub-chiefs of the district, the succession to whose head-chieftainship had to be settled, and by the head chiefs of other districts; but I find no other reference to those chiefs' councils, and so cannot say whether they dealt with questions of succession.

I may point out that, even if a strict rule of primogeniture prevailed, and the son succeeded at birth, the question of succession would have to be dealt with if a chief died without issue; and even a son who had succeeded at birth would be subject to the power, to which I shall refer again later on, of the *hiva* to depose a chief, in which case there would have to be a fresh election by the *hiva*.

I have, in discussing the elective system of Samoa, referred

<sup>1</sup> Ari'i Taimai, Table I.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Baessler, *N.S.B.* pp. 170 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Ribourt, p. 304.

<sup>5</sup> Tyerman, vol. 1, pp. 171 sq.



to the passing of the head-chieftainship of all the Teva groups to the chief of the district of Papara as an illustration of the possibility that the ruling family of a group was not necessarily the family of the highest rank of descent.

#### HERVEY ISLANDS

In Mangaia [or the Hervey Islands generally?] the first-born, whether male or female, was especially sacred. It was believed that the god had taken up his abode in the child. If a boy, he was designated "the land-owner," or "chief." He (or she) ate separately; only the grandfather or grandmother might taste the food of the little one, and the remainder of the food was put into a separate basket, so that it might not be touched by other members of the family. The door through which this child entered the paternal dwelling was sacred, no one else passing through it<sup>1</sup>. Gill is presumably referring to the same matter, when he says that a pet son, generally the eldest, was not permitted to carry burdens. A fan, or a light basket, containing his *tiputa*, or upper garment, might be seen in his hand; whilst his father, walking with him, carried the heavy load<sup>2</sup>. In general the chieftainship and priesthood of the "clan" were exercised by the first-born; and on the death of the father the largest share of the land would fall to him, and his younger brothers were bound to submit to his authority<sup>3</sup>. Gill, in describing certain national feasts of fish, says that on the first day the feast was enjoyed by the fishermen and first-born sons, and on the second by the fishermen and the first-born daughters; and he explains the ideas of the people by saying that the first morning's catch was in honour of the eldest male children and their gods, and that of the second day was in honour of first-born girls and their gods, and that on these two days the first-born of both sexes gave portions of their respective shares to their gods<sup>4</sup>.

I have drawn attention to these ideas and practices of deferential respect shown to a first-born because of their similarity to the customs of the Society Islands, and because of the reference to the belief that the god had entered the child. There is no suggestion that the first-born succeeded immediately on birth, and indeed Gill says elsewhere that the office and power of a "tribal chief" went to a brother<sup>5</sup>; though

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *L.S.J.* p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 16.



it seems clear that it might go to a son. I may, however, point to the fact that a first-born son was called "the landowner or chief," which may have been a relic of a previous custom of succession at birth.

I gather, in fact, that a first-born child, into whom the god was supposed to have entered, would be the presumed successor on the death of the father; but this was not certain. Sometimes the god was said to have taken up his abode in the youngest of the "family," this happening when the first-born was not considered fit to be chief of the "tribe"; and in that case the former was invested by the "clan" with all the honours due to the first-born<sup>1</sup>. I cannot say whether Gill uses the terms "family," "tribe" and "clan" here with different meanings; he constantly uses them as, apparently, synonymous words, though "tribe" generally means, I think, one of the main groups of the people of Mangaia.

Referring to a case of succession by a brother to a "tribal chief," Gill says that his office and power went to the brother, and on the death of all the brothers, to the eldest born of the eldest male branch of the ruling family; but here again we are told that if this person was deficient in intelligence or courage, the tribal oracle would declare that the god had taken up his abode in another member of the ruling family (usually the youngest male) and the latter was then installed, and the entire tribe was compelled to obey; an example of this is seen in the case of a man who was elected to the chieftainship of the Tane worshippers of Mangaia, although he was not the representative of the eldest branch of the tribe, the reason given being that he was the fittest man, and had been selected out of the family by the god Tane<sup>2</sup>.

Gill says elsewhere that primogeniture was the rule and selection by the god the exception<sup>3</sup>; by which, I suppose, he means that the entry of the god into the first-born was generally assumed, and that it was only occasionally that they had to make the discovery that the god had entered someone else.

It is said that in Rarotonga, as soon as a son reached manhood, he would fight and wrestle with his father for the mastery; and if he obtained it, he would take forcible possession of the farm previously belonging to his parent, whom he drove out of it. This custom was called *kukumi anga*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, pp. 137 sq.



I have found no information as to any system of election in Mangaia. We have seen that the discovery that the god had not entered the first-born was made, according to Gill, by the "tribal oracle," who would, I imagine, be a priest, but I cannot say whether there was some elective body to whom the oracle made the disclosure, and who proclaimed the name of the successor. There seems to have been some process, for Gill says in one place that the tribal chief confirmed or laid aside wills<sup>1</sup>, whatever this may mean, and in another that the effect of the will was made known to the elders of the tribe, to be either ratified or modified<sup>2</sup>. Then again, in describing the various performances following a Mangaian victory, Gill says that the sacred king would demand in a loud voice "Who shall be lord or warrior-chief of Mangaia?" According to a private agreement, the leading man amongst the winning tribes rose and said "Let me be the lord of Mangaia," and the entire assembly of warriors, by profound silence, confirmed the appointment<sup>3</sup>. Unfortunately we do not know by what method this "private agreement" was reached; nor, I fancy, is this a case of election to the headship of a family group.

Moss says that in Rarotonga a new *ariki* was named by the *ariki* of the other tribes from the *ariki* family of the deceased's tribe; but the confirmation depended upon the *mataiapo*, as the installation rested with them. They regarded the *ariki* as only the first among equals. Concerning the *mataiapo*, he says that, if for any reason one were displaced, he was immediately appointed from the members of the family<sup>4</sup>. Disputes as to succession, if any, were generally arranged beforehand, and the succession was announced at a public feast<sup>5</sup>. Moss uses the term "tribe" to designate one of the three main groups—the Karika, Tangiia and Tinomana—of Rarotonga; and the *mataiapo* were the chiefs of districts, ranking between the *ariki* and the *rangatira* or middle classes. It looks as though the election of a new *mataiapo* were a family affair, but the election of the *ariki* rested with two bodies of people, namely the *mataiapo* of his own dominions, and the *ariki* of the other tribes. The right of the *mataiapo* to elect their own *ariki* seems natural enough; but I cannot see how the other *ariki* would be concerned in the matter, unless we are to understand that they only acted when the *ariki* to be elected would become king of all Raro-

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *Myths*, p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21.



tonga, in which case their interest in the matter is obvious. It seems that the selection of a successor was the subject of previous arrangement, and that, as apparently in Tonga, all that took place at the public ceremony was the announcement of his name.

### MARQUESAS

Radiguet says that in the Marquesas, when a *hakaiki* had several children, it was the eldest boy or girl who inherited the title and property<sup>1</sup>. The succession apparently took place, as in the Society Islands, immediately on birth. Mathias says that a chief, immediately on the birth of his first son, lost his titles, if not his power, the titles going to the new-born *hakaiki* or king, and the father becoming only the regent or first vassal of the child<sup>2</sup>. So also Tautain says that a father was no more than regent after the birth of a child; all the honours and marks of religion went to the child, and the child's advice was asked on all occasions<sup>3</sup>. Bennett, on the other hand, says the authority of supreme chiefs was inherited by their children, "but is not annulled, or transferred to the child immediately on the birth of the latter"<sup>4</sup>. I do not think this last statement is necessarily inconsistent with the others; it may well refer only to the actual exercise of authority, and not to the passing of the title. I find no evidence of any system of election to successions; but Melville refers incidentally to "the independent electors" of the valley of the Taipii people, who were not to be brow-beaten by priests, chiefs, idols or devils<sup>5</sup>; so there may have been some such system. Tautain, though he is discussing the enormous privileges given to Marquesan children generally, must, I think, be referring specially to the first-born when he says that the new-born child was more a god than was his father. From the time of his birth he was the veritable chief god (*chef-dieu*); his father could not be more than a regent. All the honours, all the marks of religion, went to the child<sup>6</sup>.

### PAUMOTU

There was in the Paumotuan island of Mangareva a custom, referred to by several writers, of removing the child of a king or chief, shortly after birth, to a secluded place in the mountains.

<sup>1</sup> Radiguet, vol. xxiii, p. 608.

<sup>2</sup> Mathias, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. vii, p. 549.

<sup>4</sup> Bennett, vol. i, p. 320.

<sup>5</sup> Melville, p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. vii, p. 549.



The consideration of this practice, which was not confined to the Marquesas, does not come within the scope of this book; but we are interested in what occurred when the child was brought back again. D'Urville says that as soon as the boy had reached the proper age, he was brought back to his former house, his father lost the sceptre, and became no more than a regent, though in war he led the troops<sup>1</sup>. Cuzent refers to a case in which the boy was twelve years on the mountain, after which there was a period of six more years' isolation elsewhere, and then the boy, being eighteen years old, returned to Mangareva to reign<sup>2</sup>. Caillot says that the boy remained on the mountain till he was about ten years old, after which he was circumcised, received his first tattooing, and learnt from what illustrious ancestors he was descended, and, six years later, was admitted to the throne<sup>3</sup>. It is obvious that only one son could succeed in this way, so I presume it would be the first-born, though writers do not actually say that it was so. Caillot says the son usually succeeded the father, but does not, in doing so, state that this occurred in the lifetime of the latter; he adds that sometimes the successor was some other relative<sup>4</sup>, and of course it would have to be so in the case of there being no child; I find no information, however, as to the persons who made the selection, or the mode of doing it, beyond a statement by Caillot as to a specific case, in which "the warriors of the island" are said to have refused to recognize a candidate<sup>5</sup>.

#### NIUE

There is no information as to the method of selecting a successor, other than that as to the testamentary power of a chief, in the island of Niue; though I have referred in the chapter on "Council Meetings" to the meeting held to decide whether they would have a king.

#### ROTUMA

I have already introduced into the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems" all the information I have been able to find as to the election of the *sou*, or sacred king, of Rotuma. As regards other matters, we are told that upon the death of the *pure* or head of a *hoang*, the family name was conferred

<sup>1</sup> D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. II, part I, p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> Cuzent, *V.I.G.* pp. 73 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 168 sq.



upon some other of its members, who thereupon became, *ipso facto*, its *pure*. If the person elected was too young or inexperienced for the responsibilities of the position, a deputy was appointed<sup>1</sup>. The newly-elected *pure* had, however, to be recognized by the *ngangaja* of his district before he could use the name<sup>2</sup>. The office of *ngangaja* of each district always remained in the same *hoang*, the *pure* of that *hoang* being the *ngangaja* of the district<sup>3</sup>. In the event of the death of the *ngangaja* the *pure* of the district met together and elected from his *hoang* some other person whom they considered most worthy of the office of *ngangaja*; after which the *hoang* itself met and conferred the family name upon the elected person<sup>4</sup>. If the *hoang* refused to do this, a difficulty was created, because the name was essential, and it is doubtful whether the district would venture to elect as *ngangaja* a man whose *hoang* refused to give him its name. An example of this is given by Gardiner; there was a contest as to the claims of two members of a *hoang*, and the district had to give way to the will of the *hoang*<sup>5</sup>. The family name appears to have been a matter of great importance in Rotuma<sup>6</sup>; so much so, indeed, that a *ngangaja* could not be deposed, unless his *hoang* first met and took the name from him<sup>7</sup>.

#### FOTUNA

Bourdin says that in the island of Fotuna royalty, except in the case of absolute unworthiness, belonged to one particular family; and on the death of the sovereign the members of the great council had to choose from this family<sup>8</sup>. This body would perhaps be the council, formed by the chiefs of the tribe, which, according to Mangeret, had to be consulted by the king as to affairs of the island<sup>9</sup>.

#### UVEA

We have seen in considering "Political Areas and Systems" that the king of Uvea belonged to the first family of the *malo*, or conquering party, and that his first minister or *kivalu* belonged to the second family of that party. Mangeret says that when the king died, the *kivalu* called a great kava meeting, at which he called the man whom he nominated as

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 429.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 430.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 429.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 428.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 429.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 424, 429.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 429.

<sup>8</sup> Bourdin, p. 453.

<sup>9</sup> Mangeret, vol. I, p. 248.



chief, and whom he made to occupy the first place<sup>1</sup>; but in an account of an actual election, he says that the *kivalu* had first taken council with all the chiefs of the island and obtained their unanimous consent to his selection<sup>2</sup>, and I think we must assume that this would be usual. The statement that he "called the man" no doubt refers to the calling of his name when the royal kava cup was to be presented. The successor to a *kivalu* was nominated by the king<sup>3</sup>.

#### TOKELAU

I can only refer, as regards the selection of the kings of the island of Fakaofu, in the Tokelau group, to what has already appeared in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems." Lister says that the king was chosen by the whole body of the people<sup>4</sup>, whatever this may mean.

#### ELLICE ISLANDS

I refer to the same chapter with reference to the system in the Ellice island of Funafuti. There was apparently, in addition to the testamentary powers of heads of families, generally some system of election. Turner, referring to the alternation of the kingship between certain leading families, says that when one king died, another was chosen by the family next in turn<sup>5</sup>; Mrs David says the people had a voice in the choice of both kings and sub-chiefs, and usually selected men for these offices who were respected for their achievements in work, talk and sport, and she gives an example of the exercise of this power<sup>6</sup>. We are not told, however, what selection "by the people" means, or how it was exercised.

#### EASTER ISLAND

I have already discussed the question of the egg gathering competition in Easter Island. Lapelin says it was the custom for the king, as soon as his eldest son married, to abdicate in favour of the son, and become an ordinary individual, and that they therefore prevented the royal children from marrying before they had reached an advanced age<sup>7</sup>. I do not know whether he is referring to the sacred or the secular king.

<sup>1</sup> Mangeret, vol. 1, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. 1, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, p. 282.

<sup>7</sup> Lapelin, *R.M.C.* vol. xxxv, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. 11, p. 374.

<sup>4</sup> Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. xxi, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Mrs David, p. 126. Cf. p. 191.



## CHAPTER XXXVII

### DEPOSITION

IN Samoa, according to Hale, it was not uncommon for a chief whose course was displeasing to the people of his district to be deposed by the united action of the land-owners and the neighbouring chiefs, and another appointed to his office<sup>1</sup>. Churchward says that if a man to whom the name had been given misbehaved after selection, the name might be taken away from him by the people, who would then appoint another in whom they had more trust<sup>2</sup>; and again, he tells us that a man might by will give the family name to a stranger, instead of to his eldest son; but if this man were guilty of misbehaviour or indifference to family interests, the name might be taken away from him by the eldest son or direct heir in conjunction with the rest of the family<sup>3</sup>. Williams was told that if a chief was oppressive, it was not an infrequent occurrence for the tribe to assemble, and condemn him to death<sup>4</sup>. Brown says that the *tulafale* claimed, and often exercised, the power of deposing or banishing a chief who had become obnoxious to them<sup>5</sup>. Ella says that it was in the power of the chiefs, or a council of chiefs, to dispossess a man of his land, and even to expel him from the tribe and district<sup>6</sup>. The *tulafale* had power to appoint and depose chiefs, and occasionally they were deposed and banished to the island of Tutuila<sup>7</sup>. Stair says that not only were the *ao* or titles of districts in the gifts of the *tulafale*, but they had the power, which at times they did not scruple to use, of deposing and banishing an obnoxious chief<sup>8</sup>. Murray refers to a case in which a chief so displeased his people and the subordinate chiefs that they deprived him of his office, and banished him, appointing another chief in his stead<sup>9</sup>. Turner says that if the head of a family attempted to act in a matter of importance without consulting the others,

<sup>1</sup> Hale, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Churchward, p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 337. I think the "stranger" would have to be a member of the family, though he might have left the district.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, p. 529.

<sup>5</sup> Brown, p. 433.

<sup>6</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. iv, p. 627.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vi, p. 597.

<sup>8</sup> Stair, p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> Murray, *40 years*, p. 205.



and persisted in doing this, they would deprive him of his title and give it to another<sup>1</sup>. Newell, in telling of the sprinkling ceremony, performed on a Malietoa to deprive him of his title, says that it was done by those who had bestowed the title upon him<sup>2</sup>. According to Stuebel, if those who disposed of the granting of the name were angry, they would drive the chief away and take from him his name and land over which he ruled<sup>3</sup>. The point to which I draw attention is that the power to depose a chief seems, so far as the actual evidence goes, to have rested entirely with his own people, and especially, apparently, with the orators or orator chiefs who had the right of granting it, and not with some superior chief. Hale's mention of "neighbouring chiefs," and Ella's reference to "the chiefs, or a council of chiefs" might perhaps be regarded as pointing in the other direction; but they may well be speaking of the case of a body of chiefs who were sub-chiefs of the chief to be deposed. It must be remembered that in the case of the great Samoan head chiefs or kings—the *tuiaana* and others—not only were all their principal subjects chiefs, but the "houses," as they were called, of *tulafale*, who granted the titles, were *tulafale ali'i*, or orator chiefs, and it may have been so in the case of some of the other great ruling families of Samoa. I think that the person appointed in lieu of the deposed chief would have to be some other member of the same ruling family, who would be selected by those who had the power of appointment.

I have found no statement as to the persons who could depose a chief in Tonga; but Waldegrave says that the *tuitonga*, though regarded as the owner of all the land, could not displace a chief from it<sup>4</sup>, and Mr Radcliffe Brown has told me that the *tuitonga* could not take away from a chief the power that had once been given to him. I do not think, however, that we must regard these statements as to the *tuitonga* as being an indication that a head chief could not depose an under-chief, because, it must be remembered, the *tuitonga* had lost his secular power. We have seen that Finau Ulukalala II, the head tributary chief of the Haapai islands, and his brother Tubu Nuha, the head tributary chief of the island of Vavau, were the conspirators who arranged the assassination of the *tuikanokubolu* Tukuaho, and, after its accomplishment, they defeated his followers in

<sup>1</sup> Turner, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Newell, *J.P.S.* vol. iv, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Stuebel, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, p. 185.



battle; and that after this, Finau Ulukalala II (the first Finau of Mariner's time) returned to Haapai, and then attacked and defeated Vavau, was declared its king, and appointed Tubu Nuha his tributary chief there. Mariner tells how, soon afterwards, Tubu Nuha was murdered<sup>1</sup>; subsequently Finau told the Vavau chiefs that they were to consider his aunt Toe Umu as their lawful chief, whereupon they recognized her as such<sup>2</sup>. Later on this aunt rebelled against him, and there was a protracted war<sup>3</sup>, which ended in Finau making peace with the Vavau people, changing his place of residence from Haapai to Vavau, and consigning the government of Haapai to a chief Tubu Toa, who was to send him annual tribute<sup>4</sup>. He apparently allowed Toe Umu to remain in possession of her own home<sup>5</sup>, but dismantled her principal fortress<sup>6</sup>. Later on, we are told, Finau portioned out several of the small islets of the Vavau group to the government of some of his chiefs and *matabule*<sup>7</sup>. I have traced shortly the main events of this history because, if taken separately, without the context, and without considering the circumstances of the time, they would suggest very autocratic powers of a head chief to appoint and depose sub-chiefs. It seems to me that we must bear in mind that the period with which we are dealing was one of military struggles by, and rebellion against, the conquering Finau. I may point out that Finau, in his appointment of Tubu Nuha as his tributary chief in Vavau was in fact leaving him in his old position of chief there, except that he had to recognize Finau as his suzerain. The appointment by Finau, on the death of Tubu Nuha, of Toe Umu as chief of Vavau may, so far as the actual evidence goes, have been arbitrary; and so may have been his appointment of Tubu Toa to be chief, tributary to himself, of Haapai, when he moved his residence from there to Vavau. Toe Umu and Tubu Toa may, however, for all we know, have been members of the families or groups of which they were appointed chiefs, qualified, as such, to succeed. Similarly, it is quite possible that the chiefs and *matabule* to whom he "portioned out" the government of some of the islets were those to whom they already in fact belonged. Whilst on the one hand I attach no importance, as affecting our present subject, to the statements as to the *tuitonga*, I do not think, on the other hand, that we must regard

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. 1, p. 130.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 137.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 138-196.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 196.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 197 sq.<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 200.<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 229.



this evidence as to the doings of Finau as necessarily inconsistent with the information as to constitutional election of chiefs, or assume that the qualified electors of a chief would not be the persons who, under ordinary circumstances, would depose him, though probably a superior chief or king could do this in case of a serious offence to the state, such as treason or rebellion. I think, in view of Mariner's close association with Finau, that he may have seen everything from his point of view and magnified his powers. No doubt, in consequence of the military and political situation at the time, Finau, as conqueror, may have been able to put strong—perhaps irresistible—pressure upon people; but I do not think we must assume that he was able to override, in form at all events, the constitutional methods of appointing chiefs, or to appoint people who were not qualified to be appointed. There is one feature as to deposition in Tonga of a chief by a superior chief, such as the king, to which I must draw attention. In a case of deposition by Finau of a chief, Finau divested him of all power and rank as a commander of men, and said that he was no longer to take his seat at kava ceremonies. Mariner says, however, that one who was born a chief was always a chief, and would be entitled to the customary forms of respect, but that in this case, in consequence of the sentence, nobody would associate with the deposed chief<sup>1</sup>. The obvious meaning of this is that all Finau could do was to deprive the chief of his position as the governing head of his group; or, to put it another way, the chief could be deprived of his rank of office, to which he had succeeded, but not of his rank of blood, which had come to him by descent.

Baessler says that in Tahiti the *hiva*, or corporate body of *iatoai* or sub-chiefs of a district, not only gave counsel as to important matters, but had power to depose and set up chiefs<sup>2</sup>. Ari'i Taimai says that the *hiva*, formed of the *iatoai*, or chosen fighting chiefs, could, and sometimes did, depose and exile a head chief, and name another, or recall the old one<sup>3</sup>. Lesson says the "*tiaaus*" could dethrone a king when they pleased<sup>4</sup>. I have already discussed the meaning of Lesson's word *tiaau* and some others; all these people were apparently under-chiefs or relations of district chiefs, and I think Lesson is referring

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. 1, pp. 174 *sq.* and note on p. 175. Cf. Wilkes, vol. III, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Baessler, *N.S.B.* pp. 170 *sq.*

Ari'i Taimai, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Lesson, *Voy.* vol. 1, p. 407.



to the same thing as are Baessler and Ari'i Taimai. The broad effect of the evidence seems to be that the election and deposition of a chief was in the hands of the group of which he was the head, and was apparently decided upon by a recognized body of sub-chiefs of the group. Ari'i Taimai gives an example of this. There was hostility between the Pomares and the Papara family, in connection with which Pomare II surprised the latter by an attack in which a number of them were massacred. Tati, the head chief of Papara, fled to Borabora, but his younger brother, Opuhara, was saved by his servants and remained in Papara. A warrior was needed to continue the struggle with Pomare, so the *hiva* would not recall Tati, and made Opuhara, who was a great fighter, head chief of Papara in his stead, and he defeated Pomare, who fled to Eimeo<sup>1</sup>.

We have so far been considering only the case of deposition of a chief by the members of the group of which he was the head; but there is evidence that he might be deposed by a superior chief. Ellis says that for treason, rebellion, or withholding supplies, individuals were liable to banishment and confiscation of property; in that case the king had the prerogative of nominating his successor. The removal of a chief of high rank, or of extensive influence, was, however, seldom attempted, unless the measure was approved by the other chiefs. At times the banishment by him, even of a *ra'atira* was opposed by other *ra'atira*<sup>2</sup>. Here, however [as in Tonga], the king could not deprive a chief of his rank; a chief was always a chief, and though expelled from his command, he continued to be noble and respected<sup>3</sup>. References to deposition by a higher chief are made by Moerenhout<sup>4</sup>, de Bovis<sup>5</sup> and Waldegrave<sup>6</sup>; but these will be considered when we discuss the question of land ownership in a later chapter. Here again, as regards the power of nominating a successor, I think this would have to be done, in form at all events, by constitutional methods.

I have referred, in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," to the revolt against the Makea (Karika) king Rongo-oe of Rarotonga because of his arrogance and cruelty, in consequence of which the island was split up into two hostile groups, Rongo-oe's younger brother being in effect made king,

<sup>1</sup> Ari'i Taimai, pp. 152 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 8 sq., 11 sq., 20.

<sup>5</sup> De Bovis, pp. 243, 245 sq., 261.

<sup>6</sup> Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, p. 173.



and he himself only retaining the headship of a small portion of the island. William Gill also refers to this matter, of which he speaks as being a revolt by petty chiefs who had well-nigh lost all their rights, and who therefore drove the despot to other parts of the island<sup>1</sup>. This does not, perhaps, amount to very much, so far as our present subject is concerned; but these petty chiefs would probably be relations of king Rongo-oe, and if so it is an illustration of deposition of the head of a group by its members.

The only reference I have found to deposition in the Marquesas is a statement by Porter that a group of people had expelled their chief because of his practice of waylaying children and taking their fish, whereupon the people rose against him, and drove him from the valley, and he had to take refuge elsewhere<sup>2</sup>.

In the Paumotuian island of Mangareva, if, according to Caillot, the king showed himself too authoritative, exacting, greedy and cruel, the natives would sooner or later avenge themselves by deposing or killing him, or both, if it was a matter in which a great number of them were interested; or by assassinating him unexpectedly, if it was a question of satisfaction for a personal injury<sup>3</sup>.

In Rotuma the *ngangaja*, or chief of a district, could not be deposed until his own *hoang* or family had taken from him the name of that family—that is, had deprived him of his position of *pure* or head of the family<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, we are told that in war victors might depose the conquered chiefs, and put nominees of their own in their places; and small unruly chiefs of their own districts were often got rid of in this way<sup>5</sup>. This evidence is, I think, quite consistent so far as deposition is concerned. The first statement points to deposition of a chief by his own district with the concurrence of his own *hoang*, and the first part of the second statement refers to deposition by a conquering outsider; whilst the latter part refers, apparently, to deposition by a chief of one of his under chiefs. In view of the vital importance which the Rotumans seem to have attached to the possession of the family name, we should expect that even conquerors would have to select as their nominee a member of the same family, to whom that name would be given by the family.

<sup>1</sup> W. Gill, *Gems*, vol. II, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, pp. 147 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 470.

<sup>4</sup> Porter, vol. II, pp. 29 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 429.



In the island of Fotuna, according to one of the French missionaries, if a chief conducted himself in an absolute manner, he might well find himself discharged from office; and an example is given of the case of a chief who made himself odious by his conduct, and was expelled, and replaced by another<sup>1</sup>. Mangeret also says that the authority of a chief might be taken from him in certain cases of recognized unworthiness<sup>2</sup>.

Coppinger refers to the deposition of the king of Oatafu, of the Tokelau group, by his subjects, who afterwards lived without a king; but he tells us nothing more about it<sup>3</sup>.

I have no general information as to deposition in the Ellice Islands, but I have references to two specific cases in Funafuti. In one case the king was going to be deposed by the people because his favourite—a man—had too much influence in the ruling of the island; but ultimately they allowed him to retain his position on his giving up the favourite<sup>4</sup>. In the other the reason was that the king was afflicted with ulcers, the smell of which made it impossible for people to sit in the house with him; and he was deposed, and replaced by his eldest son<sup>5</sup>.

In Easter Island, according to Thomson, the title of chief descended from father to son, but the king reserved the right to remove or put to death any of the chiefs, and name a successor from the people of the clan<sup>6</sup>. I draw attention to the condition that the successor had, apparently, to be a member of the clan of the deposed chief.

There is a statement as to a widowed queen of the island of Rapa that there was to be a meeting of the chiefs to debate as to the propriety of deposing her because of her gallantries with her subjects<sup>7</sup>, but we are not told whether or not this was done.

<sup>1</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xxxii, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Coppinger, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Sollas, *Nature*, 1897, p. 354.

<sup>7</sup> *Rovings*, vol. 1, pp. 308 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Mangeret, vol. 1, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs David, pp. 119 sq.

<sup>6</sup> W. J. Thomson, p. 472.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### SOME BELIEFS AS TO NAMES AND TITLES

IN considering the subject of the connection between the sacred and secular offices I introduced evidence which showed, I think, that the chief or other head of a social group, great or small, was its natural priest, the *ex officio* medium of communication between the people and their god or gods; and that he would approach and hold intercourse with the gods, especially, I presume, with the tutelar god of the group, who would enter into and inspire him; and I drew attention to the sanctity with which this close divine association would presumably endow him, and to the special degree of sanctity that would thus be attributed to the head chief of a large group, whose association would be with the great god of the group. We have also seen how sacred were the chiefs, and especially the great head chiefs or kings, of whom some were actually regarded as being gods during their lifetimes.

Krämer says that the *tuimanu'a*, *tuiaana* and *tuiaua* of Samoa were sacred (*pa'ia*) because they held those titles<sup>1</sup>. I have referred in the account of the origin of the Samoan office of *tafa'ifa*, to the bestowal of the four titles by the goddess Nafanua (that really means by her high priest) upon the woman So'oa'emalelangi, who transferred them to her adopted daughter Salamasina, and I now add that the high priest was said to have told her that the giving of these titles would make her sacred<sup>2</sup>. I have also referred to the Manu'an tradition of the bestowal by the Tangaroa family of a title upon the boy Galeali, who thereupon became the first chief in all Manu'a, after which they took this title from him, and bestowed upon his son the great title of *tuimanu'a*; it was said that the gods told Galeali not to unbind his title, but to cover it up with a strip of *siapo* [a turban wound round the head]; but that when the title was taken from him the strip of *siapo* was removed from his head, because he then became an ordinary chief, and had nothing to protect<sup>3</sup>. Von Bülow, speaking of

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 382.



Samoa, says that the posterity of Tangaroa, in which term he includes all Samoans, were *aitu*, that is supernatural beings. As soon as they bore a chief's name a reflection of divinity adhered to them in their lifetime<sup>1</sup>. A portion of the divinity adhered to the *ao* [titles] that were granted by gods to men<sup>2</sup>. Pratt, in narrating some of the Manu'an traditions of ancient days, tells of a *tuimanu'a* who abdicated in favour of one or the other of his two sons, and it was arranged that the elder son should take the title, which he did, and wore the insignia of royalty. The younger son, however, should have succeeded, because he was of higher rank on his mother's side, and he afterwards conspired against the other to secure the title. The only portion of this story to which I refer here is a proposal that the two brothers should bathe together, and that for this purpose they should anoint their heads by dipping them in a detergent of coconut oil, and a contention between them as to which should do this first. The elder brother argued that if he, the king, did this first, he would thus render the preparation sacred, so that the other, on afterwards dipping his head in it, would be infected with the taboo which this sanctity involved, and die. The younger brother, evidently thinking that he had been the rightful successor, urged the elder brother to dip first for a corresponding reason. Ultimately the younger brother dipped first, and was followed by the elder, who immediately fell down stupefied, and was only saved by the intercession of the other, who prayed to the god "O Tangaroa, if thou hast given me this secret power (*mana*), let my brother revive," whereupon the king immediately got up and walked<sup>3</sup>. I may say that the younger brother afterwards secured the title by a trick. The interest of this story, as affecting my present purpose, is that, though the younger brother had consented to the succession being given to the other, he himself was the rightful successor, the proper holder of the title, recognized by the god, and it was therefore to him, and not to the other, that the sanctity, with its accompanying infective taboo, had passed.

The subject of taboo does not come within the scope of this book, but I may say that there seems to have been an idea, widely spread in Polynesia, that water, or sometimes coconut water, was a conductor of taboo, a medium through which the

<sup>1</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXVI, pp. 297 sq.



taboo of what we should in some cases call sanctity, and should in others designate as uncleanness, could pass into a person, or by means of which he could lose or get rid of it. It is in the light of this conception that I regard certain practices, reported from some of the islands, connected with the inauguration, and sometimes the deposition, of a chief. In Samoa kings were, according to Ella, proclaimed and recognized by anointing them with oil which was poured over the head, shoulders and body of the king<sup>1</sup>. Stair refers to a practice of sprinkling a Samoan chief with coconut water on his deposition and deprivation of his *ao* or title; and he gives as an example of this the case of a chief who had been killed, the coconut water being sprinkled over his body, with the demand "Give us back our *ao*," by which means the title was recalled, and the sacredness attached to it was dispelled<sup>2</sup>. Krämer gives two examples of the sprinkling of a Samoan chief with water on his inauguration<sup>3</sup>; and he defines the word *lulu'u* or *lu'u* as meaning the sprinkling of a chief with coconut water to make him sacred (*pa'ia*), or conversely, to take away his title<sup>4</sup>, and refers to its use in the case of a sprinkling on his canonization<sup>5</sup>. Newell, after referring to the practice of sprinkling a chief with coconut water on his deposition, tells of another method of removing the title. Some young men took a bowl filled with water [he does not say it was coconut water] to the front of the house where the chief was sitting with his *tulafale* and attendants, and "laved" out the whole of the water with their hands on to the ground. The chief, with his assistants, might prevent with violence the accomplishment of this ceremony, and sometimes did so<sup>6</sup>. I may point out that, if what a resisting chief had to do was to prevent the sprinkling, it looks as though the latter, if done, would be the process by which the title was actually removed. I have suggested, in the discussion of matrilineal descent, that the custom for the sister of a *tuitonga*, on his inauguration, to purify herself at a fountain arose from a recognition of a possibility that the true line of later succession on her brother's death would be through her to her son, and that the purification was intended to remove this possible claim. In Tahiti where, it must be remembered, there was a custom

<sup>1</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. iv, p. 631.

<sup>2</sup> Stair, p. 128. Cf. Stair, *J.P.S.* vol. iv, pp. 127 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. i, pp. 209, 239.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i, p. 479.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 209 note.

<sup>6</sup> Newell, *J.P.S.* vol. iv, pp. 239 sq.



for the first-born to succeed his father immediately on his birth, it was, according to Ellis, the practice, in the case of the child of a king or chief of high rank, for the babe to be taken soon after birth to the *marae*, where, among other things, the priest bathed the child in a large arum leaf filled with water, and then, after certain other ceremonies, the child was covered with the sacred cloth of the god, spread out on sticks, to indicate that it was "admitted to the society of the gods, and exalted above ordinary men<sup>1</sup>"; and Miss Henry refers to the dedication rite of *uhi-a-iri* (bathing the skin) which was performed at the *marae* upon the first-born child of a chief of high rank by a high priest about five days after birth, the child being bathed in holy water<sup>2</sup>. Gill, in describing the installation of a sacred king of Mangaia, says that he was anointed with coconut oil, after which the sacred *maro* or girdle was placed upon him<sup>3</sup>; and I may mention his statement that on the installation of a new priest he first bathed in the sacred stream of his tribe<sup>4</sup>. In Rarotonga, when a Makea [the title of the royal family] was installed, he was, according to Smith, placed upon a special stone and anointed<sup>5</sup>; and Savage refers to this practice of anointing<sup>6</sup>. I have found no reference to any practice of anointing or sprinkling a Marquesan chief on his inauguration; but Mathias tells of the son of a high priest who annoyed the French missionaries by lying down in the mission house. Mathias told the man that this was taboo, and sprinkled his head with water, for the purpose, apparently, of letting him think that the taboo was thereby removed, but that he must not offend again. The man, however, went into a fury, rolled in the dust in frightful contortions, and asked Mathias to kill him, as he had taken away from him his divinity<sup>7</sup>. It is not said whether the loss of a title accompanied that of the divinity; but the similarity of idea here involved to that which seems to have lain behind the mode of effecting the deposition of a Samoan chief is obvious. We have seen that in the Paumotuan island of Mangareva the child of a king or chief was taken up to the mountain where he remained for a number of years, after which he was brought back again, and then, apparently, after a further interval, the chieftainship passed to him, his

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. 1, pp. 258 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Gill, *D.L.P.* p. 379.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XII, p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVI, pp. 58 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Mathias, p. 50.



father ceasing to reign. Smith describes a ceremony that took place, after the child was brought back from the mountains, one of the features of which was a "simulated besprinkling" of the child<sup>1</sup>; but I cannot say whether this occurred immediately after the child was brought from the mountains, or at the expiration of what seems to have been this further period intervening before his actual succession took place. I draw attention also to the Mangarevan story, which has appeared in a previous chapter, of the two brothers, the white king and the black king, who on their return to Mangareva to take possession of their throne, were received by an aged ancestor who bathed them with water from a stream and anointed their bodies with coconut oil, this being one, at all events, of the acts performed by which they regained their royal power. In discussing the political systems of the island of Niue I have introduced two or three references to the places where certain kings were bathed or anointed, these obviously being the places where they were installed. Smith, in describing this ceremony, says that the body was washed with oils, after which a fern leaf was dipped in coconut oil, and the king's head was struck with it three times<sup>2</sup>.

My suggestion as to all this evidence is that the object of the bathing or anointing on inauguration of a person who succeeded to a title was to transmit to him the sanctity which was requisite for its tenure, this sanctity being, according to Polynesian conceptions, closely associated with the title itself. This view as to close association is, I think, supported by von Bülow's statement that a portion of the divinity adhered to the title, and by the Samoan method of effecting the removal of the title from a dead chief, for in that case there does not seem to be any reason why this should be necessary, seeing that he was dead, except on the assumption that his title, regarded apparently as still immanent in his body, should be extracted from it, so that the title could be conferred upon the chief who was to be selected to take his place.

If, as I believe, the head of a social group, holding its name or title, was the natural priest of the group, who would come into close association with the tutelar god of the group, supplicating him, obtaining his guidance, learning his wishes and making to him the proper offerings, the selection, on the death

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, pp. 120 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. XI, p. 174.



of a head of a group, of his successor, upon whom the title was to be conferred, would be a matter which would, we may imagine, require the god's approval; and there are a few points in the evidence which I associate with this idea. I have referred, at the commencement of this chapter, to the Samoan statement, reported by von Bülow, that the titles were granted by the gods, which we must, I imagine, interpret as meaning that the electors were, in making their choice, supposed to be influenced in some way by divine guidance. The tale, told by Pratt, of the dispute between two brothers as to the true right to succession to the title of *tuimanu'a*, including the indication that the sanctity, with its accompanying infectious taboo, had passed, not into the elder brother who had, by previous agreement between them, been recognized as king, but to the younger brother, and the reference, in the prayer to Tangaroa of the latter, to the gift by Tangaroa to him of the *mana*, is only a story; but it may be taken as representing Samoan beliefs as to the association of the gods with the succession. We also have the case, referred to in the discussion of election, of the election by the Tane worshippers of Mangaia as their chief of a person who was not the representative of the eldest branch of the tribe, because he had been selected out of the family by the god Tane. We have seen also that in Mangaia, though the succession seems generally to have passed to the eldest child, the belief being that the god had taken up his abode in that child, it was sometimes conferred on the youngest child, on the ground that the god was said to have taken up his abode in the latter; and we have seen Gill's statement of a general supposition, applied to the selection of the successor to a tribal chief, of a similar character, the specific case of alleged selection by Tane being an example of this. I think that Gill's statement that primogeniture was the rule and selection by the god was the exception, probably does not express the beliefs of the people quite accurately; my interpretation of it is that as a rule the god's selection of the first-born was assumed, and that it was only occasionally that, for reasons of evident unfitness, they afterwards arrived at the conclusion that the god had selected another child; indeed Gill himself says, as we have seen, that it was, as a rule, believed that the god had taken up his abode in the first-born immediately after birth, and that the child was thenceforward treated as sacred, very much in the same way as in Tahiti, though it did not then actually succeed



to the chieftainship. Krämer tells of one of the earlier *tuimanu'a* of Samoa who had been proclaimed by an *aitu*, and was therefore named Tuimanu'a Tuiaitu. When his end came, as his title had been conveyed by an *aitu*, not in accordance with the law, he could not transmit it to his children, so there was "no other," by which I imagine is meant that there was no presumptive successor, and consultations thereupon took place as to the most suitable successor<sup>1</sup>. Krämer does not explain, and I do not understand what this means; but at all events it points to the receipt of the title from a god or other supernatural being, and perhaps the illegality arose, either because the king had only received his title from a minor god, or because there had been no human confirmation by election and installation, in accordance with the custom of the country.

I will now draw attention to the possible significance, from the point of view of the importance and sanctity associated with the title itself, of the customs under which the succession passed to a child in the lifetime of his father, the latter ceasing to hold it, and becoming a subject of his child. In the ordinary case of succession on the death of the previous holder the matter is simple, the sanctity possessed by the dead chief having passed to his successor; but where the title passed in the lifetime of the previous holder the situation is peculiar. A great chief or king of Tahiti was sacred beyond all men, and was, sometimes, as we have seen, credited with being almost a god himself, and there was in him a dangerous taboo that infected everything with which he came in contact, which at once became itself taboo; and apparently the danger of illness, or perhaps death, fell upon such of his subjects as had the misfortune to become tabooed by such a contact; and, because of this taboo, he had to be carried, as his feet might not touch and infect the ground. A son was born, and thereupon, as I understand the matter, all this sanctity, with its accompanying infectious taboo, passed from the father to the son. An interesting side-light is thrown upon this matter by an illustration, provided by Ellis, representing the ceding to Captain Wilson, for the missionaries, of a portion of land in Tahiti<sup>2</sup>, the illustration having been taken from an original painting in the possession of Captain Wilson's widow<sup>3</sup>. Among the people shown to have been present at the interview are Pomare II,

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis, vol. II, Frontispiece.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7.



the reigning king, and his wife, and also his father Pomare I, who had been king before him, and his grandfather Teu (referred to by Ellis by his name of Whappai), who had reigned over Purionuu before Pomare I; and the point to which I draw attention is that, whilst Pomare II and his wife are being borne on the shoulders of attendants, and have their bodies covered, all the other Tahitians present, including Pomare I and Teu, are standing on the ground, and have the upper parts of their bodies uncovered, in homage (as Ellis points out as regards Pomare I) to Pomare II, the reigning king<sup>1</sup>. I think we may assume that, whatever detailed inaccuracies there may have been in this picture, it would be correct as regards these striking and important points. We therefore have a pictorial record of the fact that the infective taboo, which had once been immanent in Teu, and afterwards in Pomare I, was believed to have passed out of both of them, and was in Pomare II, although they were both still living; and if this was so, we may assume that the special element of godship and sanctity, upon which the taboo was based, had passed also. We have already seen that the transfer from the father to the son of the homage which the former had been in the habit of receiving took place immediately on the birth of the son, and that the father himself immediately rendered to the son the demonstrations of inferiority that he himself had theretofore required from the people; and there can, I think, be no doubt that it was also on the birth of the son, and his consequent accession to the title, that the sanctity passed. It was on the birth of the son that, to use Gill's method of explaining the matter in Mangaia, "the god had taken up his abode" in him. There is an inconsistency here, so far as the association of the sanctity with the title is concerned, in the fact that, though the god was supposed to have taken up his abode in the child, the title apparently still remained in the father; but I suspect that what we are told points to a partial survival of the ideas upon which was based the custom of succession by the child immediately after birth, which is found in the Society Islands and a few other groups<sup>2</sup>. In the Marquesas, where the son appears to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* Frontispiece and p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> In Tahiti it was the practice for the chief, in his lifetime, to let his son take over the reins of government when he was old enough; and perhaps the Rarotongian practice for the son, when he attained manhood, to fight with his father for the mastery was a relic of the same thing, including perhaps the recognition of the son's succession at birth.



have succeeded to the title on birth, we have Tautain's statement, according to which, if I understand him rightly, the son was regarded as having in effect taken over at birth the sanctity of the father. In Mangareva, of the Paumotu group, the succession of the son to the father does not seem to have taken place till the boy was grown up; but Hao Island, of the same group, supplies a curious hint as to what may have been the native idea. I have already, in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," spoken of Munanui, a great king of the early traditions of the island; and I now refer to a belief recorded by Caillot, that, when Munanui was a child, his parents, his grandfather, and all the inhabitants of Vainono [in Hao Island] had made him sacred. His rank of king had come to him through his grandfather who had made a statement [apparently a sort of proclamation], according to which, among other things, his name was Tearikinui, his war name was Tataiaaitetumuotehenua, and the earth was under his domination<sup>1</sup>. Now, according to a genealogy supplied by Caillot, Munanui's ancestor, twelve generations back, was named Teraikinuitataiai-tetumu-o-te-fenua<sup>2</sup>, and it will be noticed that this name is, subject to one or two detailed differences in spelling, a combination of the two names given to Munanui, so the latter may have been ancestral family titles. Whether the giving of the names was done when, as a child, he was made [or became?] sacred, or whether it was later, is not clear; but in any case we have the sanctifying in infancy of a child who, then or afterwards, became king, and, then or afterwards, was given what may well have been an ancestral title, and who, if the customs of Hao Island were the same as those of Mangareva, probably succeeded to the title and became sacred in his father's lifetime.

The interest which I attach to this custom of succession at birth, or in the lifetime of the father, as affecting our present subject, is this. We can well understand that the sanctity of a Tahitian chief, continuing during his life, might be transmitted on his death to the son who succeeded him. It is not so easy, however, to understand why it should be believed that a chief was deprived automatically of his sanctity in his lifetime merely because a son had been born to him. We do not know what was the origin of the custom of abdication on this event; but the custom having been there it follows that the chief, under

<sup>1</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, pp. 31 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 12 sq.



what might have been a purely secular institution, lost his official position as chief, and his ownership of the title. The fact that he also lost his sanctity, however, introduces a supernatural element into the beliefs concerning the practice, and the supernatural character of the transfer suggests that the gods were concerned in the matter, that is that, on the son's accession to the title, they deprived the chief of his sanctity and transferred it to the son, so that there was apparently an association between the sanctity and the title. The evidence obtained from the other islands is, or may be, consistent with this view of the matter.

I have referred, in discussing the priesthood, to the *haerepo* of the Society Islands, who according to Moerenhout, were the depositories and preservers of the sacred traditions, though these officials were, according to de Bovis and others, not the *haerepo* or *oripo*, but the *orero*. Whichever may be right as to this, I draw attention to Moerenhout's statements that these keepers of traditions believed that their knowledge was obtained, not by work, but by infusion, which means, I assume, some supernatural agency, and that in the dying moment of one of these men they put to his mouth the mouth of the child who was to succeed him, so that the child might inhale, as it were, his powers. We have had some further indications of ideas of a similar character. According to evidence referred to in the discussion of testamentary appointments, when a Samoan was about to die, he breathed on his son, saying "Receive the succession of my office, with all the wisdom necessary for fulfilling it"; and the Samoans believed that it was necessary for powers to be transmitted, and the dying man, who alone possessed those powers, yielded them to whom he pleased (French missionaries). In Tahiti also the word *aepau* meant "the last dying breath, a bequest by a father to his son; wisdom or learning obtained by a son from his father" (Davies). Now all this points to a conception of a supernatural method by which a father transmitted what I may perhaps call his *mana*, to the son who was to succeed him. I think the Polynesian conception of *mana* was to a certain extent a development of the ideas found in Melanesia, in that the powers with which the *mana* endowed a Polynesian were commonly attributed, not merely, as in Melanesia, to a hardly-defined spiritual agency, or a ghost, but to the beings, the *atua* and *aitu*, whom the people actually worshipped, and whom writers speak of as



gods; but this is not a subject which I can discuss in this book. If I am right, however, what the father breathed into or transmitted to his son who was to succeed him was divine power, given to him by the gods, this being done to qualify the son for the holding of the family name or title. If this was so, we are getting very near to the idea that the general sanctity of, say, a chief, passed to his successor; and seeing that the god could, if he liked, withhold this sanctity from the person who had been recognized as the successor, as he was supposed to have done in the case of the two sons of the *tuimani'a*, we reach the point that divine sanction was necessary for the selection of the successor, not only for transmitting to him the sanctity, but for endowing him with the *mana*; if the god had not "taken up his abode" in the presumed successor, and had not endowed him with the *mana*, someone else would have to be chosen in and for whom the god was believed to have done so. So here again we seem to have some indication of a close association of divine approval with succession to the family name or title.

Then again, as regards the binding character of the father's will, we have Krämer's statement that in Samoa allegiance was given to the successor, mainly from fear of the spirit of the dead; but this is the only supernatural explanation of the matter which I have found for any part of Polynesia. Krämer may be right, at all events so far as Samoa is concerned; but I do not think we must assume that this was the only supernatural inducement for complying with the bequest. The father was, as I understand the matter, in close touch with the tutelar god of the family or group of which he was the official head, and would, as the natural priest of that god, receive inspiration from him, and it may be that the people believed, or had believed in the past, that it was under the guidance of this inspiration that he decided who was to be his successor, in which case his decision would in effect be the decision of the god. I refer, as to this, to the statement of the French missionaries that the dying man alone possessed the powers, and so it was he who transmitted them to whom he pleased. I have already suggested that the binding character of the will of a dying head of a relatively small group, of simple construction, would be great, whilst, if the head for the time being of that small group was also, as such, the head chief of a larger group, of which the smaller group was a section, the will of



the chief, as affecting the title of the larger group, with its other constituent sections, would not be so decisive. There would be a practical reason for this differentiation; but the reason might also be religious. There would, according to my conception of the general socio-religious systems of Polynesia, be two gods who would be specially concerned in this question of succession, one of them being the tutelar god of the chief's own family, and the other the god of the whole group; and if there was a belief that the divine guidance upon which the dead chief had acted was that of what I may call the domestic god only, it is obvious that its binding character would not be so great in the minds of the members of the other families of the group. This, of course, is all merely constructive speculation.

The island of Rotuma had an elective system which has a possible bearing upon the question of a belief in some divine association with the selection of a successor. In this island, as we have seen, a number of *hoang* or families, each with its *pure* or head, were collected together in a district under the headship of a *ngangaja*, and there was one of the *hoang* whose *pure* was always the person who was *ngangaja* of the district. In case of the death of this official, the other *pure* of the district elected from his *hoang* another *ngangaja*, after which the *hoang* elected him as its *pure*, the holder of the *hoang* name; but if the *hoang* refused to do this a difficulty arose, because it was, Gardiner thinks, doubtful whether the district "would venture" to elect as *ngangaja* a man whose *hoang* "refused to give him the name." Moreover the *ngangaja* could not be deposed unless the *hoang* first took its name from him. I draw attention to Gardiner's doubt whether the district "would venture" to elect as *ngangaja* a person whose *hoang* would not elect him as its *pure*; for he is, I think, a careful writer whose way of expressing himself should be noted. Why would they not venture, say, in a case in which all were agreed, except the *hoang* who refused to give its name to its member whom the other *pure* of the district wished to appoint *ngangaja* of the district? Was it that they, with their united strength, were afraid of trying to impose their will upon this single family; or was their fear based upon some religious belief? It seems to me that, if we recognize the presence in parts of Polynesia of ideas associating the will of the gods with succession, the latter explanation is the more probable one. If one member



of the ruling *hoang* was elected to be its *pure*, and another member was elected as the *ngangaja* of the district, religious complications would arise, because the *ngangaja* would not be the member of the *hoang* who was specially associated with its god; nor, perhaps, would he be specially associated with the god of the whole social group occupying the district, because his election as *ngangaja* would not have been in accord with the customs of the island, and so would have been irregular.

This Rotuman system illustrates the possible difference concerning the question of succession between the attitude of the immediate relatives of a dead chief and that of the persons interested in the matter as representatives of the whole district, to which I have referred in suggesting a possible religious question that might affect the binding character of the chief's will. It will be noticed, however, that in Rotuma the electors for the district seem to have been to a considerable extent bound by the election by the family; and if that election had been made in accordance with the dead chief's will the position of the family would, if anything, be strengthened. I may point out that the possible religious *impasse* which I have suggested as regards Rotuma is not quite consistent with my previous suggestion of a relatively small binding character of a chief's will upon the electors of a whole district, as compared with the family; but it must be understood that in suggesting this *impasse* I was dealing only with the elective system of Rotuma, with its special and peculiar features recorded by Gardiner.

There is another matter to which I must draw attention. I refer again to the tradition as to the granting by the Tangaroa family of the chieftainship of Manu'a to Galeali, and to the instructions given by the Tangaroa family to him not to unbind his title, but to cover it up with a turban, and to the removal of the turban when the title was taken from him, because he was then only an ordinary chief, and so had nothing to protect. This suggests a conception of the title as being materialized and discloses an idea that it was in the man's head. So also a comparison of the three versions of one of the Tangaroa-Manu'a stories, relating to the climbing of a coconut tree, indicates a similar belief, one of the versions saying that what one of the two men stole from the other was his "crown," another speaking of it as his turban, and the third calling it his title. I may say



that in Samoa, according to Pratt's dictionary, the word *ao* was used not only for a title, but with the meaning of "a chief's head" and that there is other Polynesian evidence which points to the head as being the seat of the name or title; but its consideration cannot be introduced into this book. I may point out, however, that the head was commonly regarded as the most sacred part of the body.

The sanctity which seems to have been attributed to titles, and would probably be recognized in a minor degree in the family names held by the heads of humbler groups of people, involves perhaps some confusion of idea. When a chief acquired the title the sanctity passed to him, water or oil being, as I interpret the matter, used in some islands as a medium by which the passage was effected. It was on his succession that the god entered into him, having, perhaps, selected him as a successor, and influenced the will of the deceased chief, or the elective body, that formed the human machinery for giving effect to the divine choice. The sanctity was in the man because he had become the duly appointed head of the social group. It does not seem to follow necessarily that the sanctity attached to the title itself; the explanation of the matter might be, not that because he had received the title he had acquired the sanctity, but rather that because he had obtained the sanctity he had been given the title. And yet some of the evidence seems to point to a conception of the sanctity as inherent in the title itself. There is, I think, nothing surprising in this, for the idea that a man's name is an actual part of himself is, I fancy, widely spread among savage races<sup>1</sup>; the man would be identified with the name, and the name with him, and the sanctity would be attributed to both. Thus we have von Bülow's statement that "a portion of the divinity adhered to the *ao*."

I think the idea of identity between a man and his name is seen in the consequences which followed an exchange of names; in the Tahitian idea that a warrior by securing the body of a dead enemy chief, and taking his name, would have a claim to his land, and the somewhat similar idea prevailing in the Marquesas; and in the ability of a doomed victim in the Marquesas to escape by claiming the name of a taboo chief, the use there of another person's name for placing a taboo on an object, and the use of a man's own, or some other person's name for the purpose of bewitching the property of a suspected

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Frazer, *G.B.* vol. III, pp. 318 sqq.



thief. Another example is found in a practice, which may have had either a Polynesian or a Melanesian origin, reported from the New Hebridean island of Futuna, of changing the name of a child who cried habitually, owing to a belief that either the child, or the spirit of the person after whom it was called, objected to the name; and still more, perhaps, the custom there, if the child, when growing, showed bad qualities, to change its name, under the belief that it was becoming like some bad person who bore the same name, and that the change would alter the nature of the child<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gunn, p. 204.



## CHAPTER XXXIX

### LAND TENURE AND CONTROL

#### PRELIMINARY

THE next subject with which I propose to deal is the ownership, tenure and control of the land. The basis of the discussion will be the ownership of the land of a social group, on behalf of the group, by its official head, the bearer of its title or name. I therefore propose first, as a preliminary step, to introduce some evidence as to this ownership, though further indications of it will doubtless appear later, and indeed the evidence may overlap to a certain extent, and there may be a little repetition. Assuming that this ownership by the head of a group was a fundamental principle, affecting the land of social groups both great and small, it would follow that the head of a sub-group would be the official owner of the land of the sub-group, though this ownership would be subject to the superior suzerainty of the head of the group, and so on downwards; and it is, I think, in the light of this conception that we must consider all evidence as to the tenure and control of the land.

In Samoa, according to Turner, the land was owned alike by the chiefs and heads of families. The land belonging to each family was well known, and the person who for the time being held the title of the head of the family had the right to dispose of it. It was the same with the chiefs<sup>1</sup>. This power of disposal was, I may say, subject to limitations which will be mentioned later. Hood says that the head of the race, who bore the titular distinction, held the lands of his father as his own, and refers to his qualified rights of disposal of it<sup>2</sup>. Brown refers to laws of inheritance in a way which shows that he includes in the matter both succession to the title and inheritance of the land<sup>3</sup>. According to Stuebel, the name determined the power over the land, the person who bore the former ruling over the latter. On the other hand, if he who ruled over the land lost the name, he lost with it the disposal of the land, and only

<sup>1</sup> Turner, pp. 176 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Hood, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Brown, pp. 287 *sq.*



retained the government over the land which he possessed in his own right<sup>1</sup>. By this Stuebel evidently means that the man lost the disposal of the land of the whole social group whose name or title he bore, but retained his own portion of that land; he ceased to be head of the whole group, but retained his headship of his own section of that group. Stuebel also says that if those who disposed of the granting of the name were angry, they would drive away the chief, and take away from him the name and the land over which he ruled<sup>2</sup>.

Mariner says that in Tonga property consisted mainly of plantations, houses and canoes; and that the right of succession to it was regulated by the order of relationship "as given under the head of Nobles"; so in like manner was the right of succession to the throne<sup>3</sup>. His mention of the head of nobles evidently refers to a previous page<sup>4</sup> in which he discusses what he calls "descent of nobility." He is on that page dealing rather with what I am calling "descent" than with "succession"; but reading him broadly, we must, I think, interpret his meaning as to plantations, etc., to be that they passed, among the nobility, including the royal family, to the successor to the title. West says that the whole country belonged to the king, who regulated the disposal and tenure of the land<sup>5</sup>. Bays says that the eldest son of the principal wife of a chief "would succeed to the heritage and rank of his father"<sup>6</sup>, and I assume that by heritage he means, or includes, the land. Cook tells us that everything a man left behind him fell to the king; but that it was usual to give it to the eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision out of it for the rest of the children<sup>7</sup>. Waldegrave says that the *tuitonga* was considered as the sole proprietor of the island of Tongatabu, the chiefs holding under him, each of them being the proprietor of his own portion<sup>8</sup> [which he would hold on behalf of the group of which he was head]; but, speaking of the island of Vavau, he says that the soil and everything in the island belonged to the king<sup>9</sup>, by whom he means Finau, who, as we have seen, was the head chief there. According to West, the great landlords derived their lands by hereditary right, in conjunction with their chieftainships, but held them at the will

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Mariner, vol. II, pp. 94 sq.

<sup>5</sup> West, p. 262.

<sup>7</sup> Cook, vol. V, p. 430.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Bays, p. 135.

<sup>8</sup> Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, p. 185.



of the supreme ruler; and the land was subdivided by the great landowners among their families and followers<sup>1</sup>. The French missionaries are speaking of Tonga generally when they say that men and land all belonged to king George<sup>2</sup>. The substitution in people's minds of the secular king for the *tuitonga*, if such had occurred, would probably be due to the decline in influence of the latter. Mr A. Radcliffe Brown says, in the manuscript material which he has kindly sent me, that all the chiefs were regarded as holding their land and their power from the *tuitonga*, from whose family they were believed to be descended, and who was thus their overlord; but the *tuitonga* could not take from a chief the power that had once been given to him.

I think that this Tongan evidence is, so far as it goes, and subject to certain detailed comments to be made hereafter, in accord with the general principle which I suggested at the beginning of this chapter; all the land belonged nominally to the *tuitonga*, as head of the head branch of the entire group, or to the secular king, but each family had in fact some right to its own land, which was vested in its head and would pass on his death to his successor, this again being subject to certain rights of the other members of the family.

Ellis says that in the Society Islands, on the birth of a king's son and his succession to the title, the lands and other sources of the king's support were appropriated to the maintenance of the establishment of the infant ruler, and that a corresponding practice prevailed among the *ari'i* and the *ra'atira*<sup>3</sup>. The produce which the king received from his hereditary estate being rarely sufficient for the needs of his household, the deficiency was supplied from the different districts of the islands<sup>4</sup>. This might be construed as meaning that the king only inherited the land of his own district, and not the nominal ownership of the other districts of the main group of which he was the head; but this was not the case in Tahiti, and the king's rights over the other districts are illustrated by their duty to support him. Ellis says that the districts were under the government of chiefs or *ra'atira*, each of whom was the baron of his domain, or the lord of the manor, and was succeeded in his possessions and office by his son or nearest kindred<sup>5</sup>. Hamilton refers to the passing of a chief's title and estate to his successor<sup>6</sup>. Moeren-

<sup>1</sup> West, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XXXII, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> Hamilton, p. 40.



hout says that landed property being the principal wealth of the people, and the degree of authority of the chiefs depending on the amount of their lands and the number of people they could maintain on them, each family was careful to assure the indivisibility of property in order to perpetuate power, and they only recognized one heir for both possession and titles<sup>1</sup>. According to Ari'i Taimai, the inheritance to the property in lands went with the chiefs' titles<sup>2</sup>. Her mother was taken at birth to all the numerous family *marae* with which the titles to which she had succeeded were connected; and she tells us that her mother took with each name the lands that belonged to it<sup>3</sup>.

In Mangaia, of the Hervey Group, the soil was the sole property of the high chiefs (*ariki*) and the under-chiefs, and these distributed the land in accordance with their own wishes<sup>4</sup>. Though the first-born son of a chief does not, as we have seen, appear to have succeeded immediately, as he did in Tahiti, to the title, he seems to have been credited with much of the sanctity with which the Tahitian child was supposed to have been endowed, and on the death of his father he was the presumed successor. It is, I think, in the light of all this that we must regard the custom to call the boy "the land-owner or chief"<sup>5</sup>, which seems to point to a past recognition that the chief held the land. It is stated that, when he did succeed, the largest share of the land would fall to him, and his younger brothers were bound to submit to his authority<sup>6</sup>; and I think that the meaning of this is that each of the sons, including the eldest, who succeeded to the title, would have his own share of the dominions, but the eldest son, who would have the nominal ownership of the whole, would have the largest share. Moss says that in Rarotonga the authority of the head of the family over the lands and possessions was absolute and carried with it as absolute a control over the whole of the members.

Radiguet says that in Marquesas, when an *akaiki* had several children, it was the eldest boy or girl that inherited the title and property<sup>7</sup>. So here again the two went together; and des Vergnes says that the chief of a tribe was regarded as the owner of all its land<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *L.S.I.* p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Radiguet, vol. XXIII, p. 608.

<sup>5</sup> Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 717.

<sup>6</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*



In the Paumotuian island of Mangareva the king was, according to d'Urville, the proprietor of all the land<sup>1</sup>.

In the island of Niue, according to Smith, the *patu* or heads of families, were the principal land-owners, though every one had land of his own by right of ancestral title. He says that there were a good many chiefs who were called either *iki* or *patu*<sup>2</sup>. I gather that a titled chief would be the *patu* or head of a relatively large or important social group or family, and there would be minor families, with their *patu* or heads, in his dominions. Thomson says that the land was the common property of the septs, represented by their heads, and that junior members of a sept came to their laird when in need of land for planting<sup>3</sup>.

In Rotuma, according to Gardiner, no private property in land formerly existed; it was all vested in the *pure* [head] for the time being of the *hoang* [family]<sup>4</sup>; it was the duty of the *pure* to divide out the bush-land year by year for planting purposes among the different households of the *hoang*<sup>5</sup>.

Some of the evidence of the ownership of the land of a social group, on behalf of the group, by its official head, the bearer of its name or title, is definite; some of it, on the other hand, involves a greater or less amount of inference, and its value depends in some degree upon its consideration in the light of the more exact testimony. I think, however, that we may believe that the system prevailed, more or less, in Polynesia generally, and I shall assume this in considering the conditions of land tenure and control within the group. References by writers, and perhaps by myself, to "ownership" by sub-groups or members must be read in the light of this fundamental principle.

Among the important matters to be considered in connection with the subject of land tenure and control are the control of cultivation and of food supply and the imposition of restrictions on food consumption; also the payment of tribute. These, however, will be dealt with more conveniently by themselves separately, so I shall reserve them for subsequent chapters, though there will probably be in the discussion of land tenure and control a few incidental references to them.

There are indications that the ideas and practices of the people in connection with the ownership and control of the

<sup>1</sup> D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. II, part i, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 483.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson, *S.I.* p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 484.



land were, or had been in the past, closely associated with systems of communal ownership of property. I shall therefore introduce evidence as to the prevalence of this system, though perhaps in a modified form only, in some of the islands, in connection with movable property. I may say that I believe that some of the Polynesian practices which have been attributed by observers to motives of generosity and hospitality have really had their foundation in recognition of common ownership; but this suggestion can only be discussed after the introduction of the information as to these practices, and that is not a subject which falls within the scope of this book. Then again, some of the evidence as to general communism in movable property may refer to arbitrary seizure by chiefs of the goods of their subjects. Statements as to acts of this character have appeared in the discussion of the powers of chiefs; but, as I have suggested in my preliminary observations on that subject, these acts, or some of them, may have been based on communism, or may have been an informal enforcement of a right to tribute, and I shall refer to them more specifically in the chapter dealing with that subject. My reason for introducing into the evidence on land tenure and control statements as to general common ownership of movable property is that the presence of this system increases the probability that there was, or had been, a similar system as to the land.

Much of the evidence on the subject of land tenure and control to which I shall have to refer is insufficient in quantity, and not very definite in character, and, taken altogether, it is sometimes rather confusing. I therefore think it desirable, for the purpose of following this evidence, and trying to interpret it, that I should draw attention in advance to certain questions that arise. These questions are all based on the assumption that the grouping of the people was primarily social, and that the governmental area of a social group was divided into what I may call districts occupied by branches of that group, which were again subdivided into sub-districts, occupied by sections of those branches, and so on, the whole area having at its head the chief of the group, each district having the sub-chief or other head of the branch, and each sub-district having the head of the section of the branch. I do not for a moment contend that the system of social grouping, which I believe to have prevailed widely in Polynesia, existed in all cases in this exact and closely defined form; but I think it was so far the



basis of the grouping of the people as to justify my adopting my assumption as a standpoint from which to consider the evidence. The questions which I suggest are the following:

(1) How far had the idea of common ownership by the members of a social group of the land of the group, if such an idea had prevailed in the past, changed into a recognition of separate ownership?

(2) What was the system of allotment of the land of a group among its members?

(3) To what extent were those allotments permanent?

(4) What were the powers of the chief or other head of a group to alienate in any way the land of the group: (a) By his own despotic will, or (b) With the consent of the other members on whose behalf he owned the land, or their representatives?

(5) Could a group of owners, or an individual owner, alienate their or his land?

(6) What were the methods of alienation? Was it in effect a sale, a letting, a gift, or what else?

I must explain that I am suggesting these questions merely as a general tabulated frame-work of what seems to be the main scope of the enquiry. I shall often only be able to suggest answers to some of them in a very general way, and as regards some of the islands at all events, the evidence will be only meagre both in quality and quantity. Also it will be impossible for me, especially with reference to some of the islands, to marshal the evidence in the sequence in which I have placed the questions, or even at all. It is largely for this reason that I have thought it desirable to propound the questions in advance, in the hope that this will assist in the consideration of the bearings of the detailed evidence as it is given.

### SAMOA

Turner says that the Samoans clung to the system of common interest in each other's property with great tenacity. Not only a house, but a canoe, a boat, a fine, a dowry, and everything else requiring an extra effort was subject to the idea. The system entitled them to beg and borrow from each other to any extent. Boats, tools, garments, money, etc., were all freely lent to each other, provided they were connected with the same tribe or clan. If a man possessed that for which he was asked, he would either give it or tell the lie, either that he had it not, or that he had promised it to some one else. A young man



might work hard, but he could not keep his earnings, as they all passed out of his hands into the common circulating currency of the clan to which all had a latent right. Turner points out what a hindrance to industry was this communistic system, which ate like a canker-worm at the roots of individual and national progress<sup>1</sup>. Churchward says that the community of property, especially of food, was most noticeable. Everything appeared to belong to everybody—that is, if it were asked for; and he draws attention to the hindrance to advancement which it involved, for no sooner did one man successfully strike an independent line of industry of his own, than down came upon him a swarm of his relations, insisting by all family ties and country customs upon a division of the fruits of his labour<sup>2</sup>. Brown says that stealing from the plantation of a relative was not considered wrong, and in fact was not called stealing; it was simply a part of the communistic system under which no man could rise above the level of his fellows. The industrious man might work, whilst the lazy relative helped himself from the fruit of his labours. As an example of the operation of this idea, he says that if the owner of a plantation of bananas, disheartened at the continuous taking of its fruit, and in despair, cut the plants down, he incurred the great indignation of his relatives. Brown gives other illustrations also<sup>3</sup>. Stevenson says that property in Samoa was vested in the family, not in the individual. As illustrations of the ideal conduct in the family, he refers to verbs which had the following meanings: “to deal leniently with, as in helping oneself from a family plantation”; “to give away without consulting other members of the family”; “to go to strangers for help, instead of to relatives”; “to take from relatives without permission.” He says that a man whose hand was always open to his kindred was spoken of admiringly as *mata-ainga*, or race-regarder. He gives a few illustrations of the system of family division; one of these referred to a girl in his service, to whom he had given some finery and warm clothes, but who, having then visited her family, returned in an old tablecloth, her whole wardrobe having been divided out among her relatives in twenty-four hours. It is true the beggar was supposed to make return, but the obligation was only moral; it could not be, or was not, enforced, and was often disregarded. Another example was the case of a native pastor who bought a boat, and paid

<sup>1</sup> Turner, p. 160.<sup>2</sup> Churchward, pp. 115 sq.<sup>3</sup> Brown, pp. 262 sq.



half the price of it, but left the other half owing. Some of his relations paid him a visit, asked for the boat, and went off with it; the man afterwards had to sell land and beg mats from other relatives to enable him to pay the balance of the price of the boat, which was no longer his. This was evidently no mere act of illegal theft—indeed, a few months afterwards, the boat needing repair, it was brought back by the people who had taken it, in order that it might be mended by the original owner. The social obligation to submit to family demands of this sort is illustrated by the recognition of the anger which was justified by unreasonable demands and the contempt held for habitual making of them. A man was not expected to give with a good grace; and the dictionary is well stocked with verbal missiles which a victim might discharge at his tormentors; examples of these are found in expressions meaning “troop of shame-faced ones,” “you beg like one delirious”; and the verb *pongilai*, “to look cross” is equipped with the pregnant rider “as at the sight of beggars.” There was, apparently, a last and single resource of a householder, besieged in this way; there was a sacramental gesture of refusal, supposed to signify “my house is destitute”; but until this point was reached, the conduct prescribed for a Samoan was to give and to continue giving<sup>1</sup>. Strauch refers to what he calls the prevailing communism and its deterrent effect upon any inclination to work; and, speaking of attempts at emancipation that had been made, says they were given up after the first harvest, for the family—using that term in the broader sense of the clan—rejoiced over the laborious work of their clansman by sharing the harvest<sup>2</sup>. Graeffe, Hood and von Hesse-Wartegg also refer to the matter<sup>3</sup>.

It is in the light of this evidence as to ownership of movable property that we must consider the subject of tenure of the land. Goodenough was told that there was not, and could not be, any real title to land; the title was by occupation, and those who had once occupied had a right to a share, but no more than a share, of what was going. Any member of a tribe that owned land could come and take his portion, but his right was only that of occupation<sup>4</sup>. Schultz says that an ideal *matai* [head of a family] would in important family affairs undertake

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson, *Footnote*, pp. 13-16.

<sup>2</sup> Strauch, *Z.f.E.* vol. xxiv, pp. 225 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Graeffe, *J.M.G.* vol. 1, p. 23. Hood, pp. 33 sq. note. Von Hesse-Wartegg, p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> Goodenough, p. 194.



nothing without first consulting with his family, or his own branch of it<sup>1</sup>; by which he implies that the *matai* was the head, not only of his own branch of the family, but also of the whole family, and means, I think, that he would consult the branch in matters affecting the branch only, and the family in matters affecting it as a whole. He says a legal limitation of the power of the *matai* existed with respect to his authority over the land which belonged to the family, and this would, I assume, be one of the important affairs as to which he had to consult others. Some families still possessed the whole of their land undivided, whilst others had given up joint possession, and had handed over a definite portion to each branch. In the first case, no one *matai* could alienate family land without the approval of the others; not even the *matai sili* [the head of the larger group of which the family was a section] could do this. In the latter case the approval of the others was not necessary for the *matai* who wished to alienate<sup>2</sup>. According to Graeffe, land was in part common property, and in part family property, and the various heads of families or *tulafale* came to an agreement in their assemblies as to the portion of land to be cultivated by each, and to belong to him for the time being<sup>3</sup>.

It will be noticed that Goodenough's statement starts, apparently, with the idea of common ownership of the land of a group by its members; and that Schultz does so also in saying that some families still possessed the whole of their land undivided; whilst Graeffe says that the land was in part common property. Goodenough points to a change in saying that a member of a tribe could take his portion, which might, I suppose, mean a portion belonging to him either individually or as head of a sub-group; Graeffe also points to the general carrying out of this process of separate allocation of the lands of a group to its respective sub-groups by mutual arrangement made by their respective heads; and Schultz refers to a system under which the land of the group had been divided among its sub-groups.

There is evidence, however, that contemporaneous common and separate ownership of the lands of the group might arise from a distinction between the respective characters of the lands. Turner, after speaking of the land belonging to a family, says that the uncultivated bush was sometimes claimed by

<sup>1</sup> Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Graeffe, *J.M.G.* vol. 1, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



those who owned the land on its borders<sup>1</sup>. Then Brown tells us that real property consisted of town sites, garden lands near the villages, and the interior waste or bush lands. Every family had its fully recognized and inalienable right to its village and garden lands, and the boundaries of these were well known. Every piece of land in the villages or suburbs had its owner. The personal rights of some individuals to certain sites and lands were recognized, but as a general rule the lands belonged to the family as a whole, though the recognized head of the family exercised a supreme right. The waste lands belonging to the village community, and the boundaries of these lands with those of other districts were well known; and in the event of the sale of any portion of these lands, the whole community would claim a share, and in the case of a sale made by the head of the family of any piece of the family land, the consent of the other members of the family was deemed by them to be necessary, and a claim would also be made to a share in the proceeds<sup>2</sup>. Elsewhere, after referring to the different sorts of boundary, he says that the bush lands, far away in the interior, were owned by the families as a body, in certain villages or districts<sup>3</sup>.

Brown speaks apparently of groups (called by him villages), and sub-groups (called by him families). The village and garden lands—that is the land actually occupied by the group—was, according to him, and as I understand him, always divided among the sub-groups; but the land of a sub-group was generally the common property of the sub-group, though in some cases it had been parcelled out among the individual members of the sub-group. This apparently points to a diversity of system similar to that disclosed by Goodenough, Graeffe and Schultz, except that I cannot say how far the terms used by Brown and them, and which I am calling groups and sub-groups, mean exactly the same thing, though the principle involved in each case seems to be the same. But the point to which I draw special attention is that, according to Brown, whilst the town sites, upon which the occupying sub-groups would presumably have built their houses, and the gardens, which they would have cultivated, were regarded as the separate properties of the respective sub-groups, the bush or waste land *in certain villages or districts* belonged and were common to the entire group—to the sub-groups as a body.

<sup>1</sup> Turner, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Brown, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 339.



Here again there is evidence of a diversity of system; and the reasonable explanation seems to be that the bush or waste land remained the common property of the group, unless and until portions of it had been cleared and cultivated by constituent sub-groups, and parcelled out to them separately, and that the practice of parcelling out the bush or waste land in this way had been adopted in some places and not in others<sup>1</sup>. This is perhaps what Turner means when he says that the uncultivated bush was *sometimes* claimed by those who owned the land on its borders. All this is consistent with Goodenough's statement, with reference to land generally, that title was by occupation; for the family to which a plot of land was allotted would occupy it, and in so doing would continue to expend labour upon it; and Graeffe's reference to land being cultivated by a man, and belonging to him for the time being points in the same direction. The explanation of the latter statement might be that the tenure ceased and the plot reverted to the group, if the sub-group discontinued its cultivation. I imagine that the claim to *uncultivated* bush to which Turner refers would continue only by clearing and continued cultivation.

In the case of the deposition, and perhaps banishment, of a chief, no question could, I suppose, arise as to the ownership of land belonging to him, or under his suzerainty, as this would pass to his duly elected successor, who would be some member of the group qualified to succeed.

According to Turner, the lagoon, as far as the reef, was considered to be the property of those off whose village it was situate<sup>2</sup>. Von Bülow gives elaborate and detailed particulars of the fishing rights; some of which must not be assumed to have been indigenous, but I will content myself here with referring to a few of them only, which I think probably were so. He says that by rights the boundary of the land property in the direction of the sea was the line of high-water mark; beyond this was a path of communication, the seaward boundary of which is not defined clearly by him; the space beyond this up to the outer edge of the reef [that is in effect the lagoon and the reef] was regarded as the fishing ground. He says that the fishing grounds, like the land, had their owners; but I am quite unable to follow with exactitude his statement as to who these owners were, beyond the fact that the owners were what he

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the parcelling out came first, and the clearing and cultivation afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, p. 177.



calls place communities, family communities, and individual title bearers. Von Bülow then goes on to set out a number of elaborately detailed regulations as to the use of these fishing grounds, of which some are apparently truly Polynesian, and others may or may not have been so; but I must content myself with referring to one of them, which was probably Polynesian, and which alone seems to be pertinent to our present subject. Under this regulation the owner of a fishing ground had to comply with the commands of the assembly of the place when the latter prohibited the catching of the *atule* (South Sea herring) for a time, in order to give time to make preparations for the catching of this in the *laulua* (great drag net). Von Bülow refers to regulations as to fishing outside the reef, but he does not describe them, and I imagine from the way he speaks of them, that they do not bear upon our present subject. He says the fishing rights were in general held to be inalienable<sup>1</sup>. I fancy the systems and conditions of ownership and user of these fishing grounds must have been very similar in principle to those of the land; and I may point out that the fact that a man's use of his fishing ground might be placed by the *fono* under a partial temporary taboo for the benefit of the group of which he was a member indicates that the communal rights of the group were recognized as limiting his rights as owner.

As regards the question of alienation of land, I must first say that the selling of land, in the sense of parting for ever with the ownership of it, for a consideration paid down or otherwise received, does not appear to have been an indigenous practice in Samoa. Stuebel says that the Samoans did not know the custom of selling land<sup>2</sup>; and Graeffe refers to the difficulty attending sales [presumably to white men] of land because most of the people did not know how far the buying went. Their idea was that it only involved the acquisition of the title of the owner chief, and that the right to use the plantation would still remain to them<sup>3</sup>; just, I suppose, as they had possessed it under the selling chief. So also Goodenough says the title to land was by occupation, and no land was to be sold, and a [white?] man buying land was either deceived, or was biding his time to see what would turn up out of the wars which were killing men off<sup>4</sup>. I gather that white men had been able to secure land by purchase, in defiance of the custom to

<sup>1</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXII, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Graeffe, *J.M.G.* vol. I, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Stuebel, pp. 126 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Goodenough, p. 194.



the contrary, but we are told as to this that the people were, or had become, much averse to parting with it<sup>1</sup>; I imagine that this had been done under white men's persuasion and temptation, though it was contrary to Samoan customs.

There are references to the power of the head of a family or other social group to alienate, or deal in some way with, the land of the group, provided he secured the assent of the other members of the group. We have seen Brown's statement as to this, and Schultz's statements that an ideal *matai* would, in important family affairs, do nothing without consulting his family or his own branch of it, and as to the limitation of the power of the *matai* with respect to his authority over the family land. Turner says that although the power of selling land, and doing other things of importance affecting all the members of the family, was vested in its titled head, yet he dared not do anything without formally consulting all concerned. Were he to persist in attempting to do otherwise, they would take his title from him, and give it to another. The members of a family could thus take the title from their head, and heads of families could unite and take it from their chief, and give it to some other member of the chief family, who would, they thought, act more in accordance with their wishes<sup>2</sup>. Hood says that, although the head of the race, who bore the titular distinction, held the lands of his father as his own, and had the right of disposing of any portion of it, should he venture to break the entail, as it were, and do so without being duly authorized by all the members of the family publicly assembled, they would at once deprive him of his position, and confer it upon another<sup>3</sup>. So, according to Ella, neither a chief nor a *tulafale* who owned land could alienate any portion of it without the concurrence of every member of the family interested, and a violation of this rule would occasion difficulties that would involve the seller in trouble, and might occasion his deposition. Foreigners buying land when this rule had been disregarded found themselves in trouble with the natives, and their land-title disputed<sup>4</sup>. Wilkes says land might be sold, this being done at public meetings, and the bargain was made by sticking their [the buyers'] staves into the ground, or digging a portion of it<sup>5</sup>. Presumably the public meetings to which Wilkes refers were

<sup>1</sup> Walpole, vol. II, pp. 360 *sq.* *Roivings*, vol. II, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, pp. 176 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Hood, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 598.

<sup>5</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 152.



the meetings of the members of the group whose consent was requisite. Stuebel says that land could not be given away at the will of the head of the family, or him who bore the name alone, unless he had first consulted with his children, his family, and the children of his sister; for it was the Samoan custom that all such matters should be communicated to the children of the father's sister<sup>1</sup>. Also Goodenough, in referring to the inability to sell land, and the possible deception or diplomacy of the buyer, as quoted above, says that a man could come and cultivate, and have the right of occupation of land, but could not claim the land, or any right of pre-emption<sup>2</sup>.

I will not now discuss the interpretations that should be put by us upon the meaning or meanings of transactions spoken of as alienation, disposal, sale, or giving, or upon evidence pointing to temporary occupation only, though we must bear in mind the statements that land could not be sold, using that term, I take it, with the meaning which we apply to it. As regards so-called sales, I may point out that they may not have been understood in that sense by Samoans in their dealings with white men, and that this misunderstanding may well have been the cause of the difficulties that seem to have arisen. The main feature of the evidence is its indication that the head of a group could not deal, as between himself and an outsider, with the land of the group without the consent of its members.

A question of a proposal to alienate land would, I presume, be one of the matters that would be dealt with at a *fono*, whether of a district, a village district, or a village, or at a consultation between the members of a domestic household, and the consent would be given by the representatives of the several sections of the group by whom the *fono* was held.

I must draw attention to a possible source of error in reading evidence as affecting the power of the head of a group. We have seen Goodenough's reference to the possibility of a man having the right to occupy land, though he could not claim the land, and his statement that any member of a tribe could take his portion of the tribal land; both of which might refer to purely personal rights, and not to rights vested in the man as head of a sub-group to which had been allotted a portion of the land of the group. Brown refers to the personal rights of individuals to parts of land belonging to the group. Graeffe's statement that the *tulafale* agreed among themselves

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Goodenough, p. 194.



as to the portion of the land to be allotted to and cultivated by each might be thought to refer to personal ownership by these *tulafale*; but in point of fact the portion allotted to each of them would probably belong to him usually on behalf of the family or sub-group of which he was the head. These statements illustrate the possible source of confusion, and consequent error, to which I have referred. It is not always clear whether a writer who speaks of a portion of the land of a group as belonging to some member of it is referring to personal ownership by him, or to ownership by him as head of a sub-group. Hence statements as to a man's power of dealing with his land without consulting others, which are intended to refer to land belonging to himself personally, might be capable of a construction involving independent powers, as between him and his subjects, of the head of a sub-group, which would not be in accord with the evidence already given.

I think, however, that Schultz's statements are capable of interpretation, so far as they go, though he leaves certain points of detail untouched. He is dealing with limitations of the powers, if properly exercised, of the head of the group, who was also the head of one of its branches, as, I believe, he always would be; and it seems clear that these limitations applied to proposals to alienate part of the land of the group.

Let us first suppose that the land of the group had not been divided among its branches. In that case it was still the common property of the group, every portion of it belonging to every member of the group, and no member having any separate ownership. It followed that if the head of the group proposed to alienate in any way any portion of its land, he had to obtain the general consent of the whole group; and, consistently with the social organization of Samoa, he effected this by consulting and obtaining the approval of the heads of all the branches other than his own. I imagine that the head of each branch, including the head of the group, would have to consult the members of his own branch, because it would be an "important affair" to the branch.

Next let us suppose that the land of the group had been divided, definite portions of it having been allotted to each of the branches. In that case, apparently, each branch was free to deal with its own portion without consulting the other branches; and this would be done by the head of the branch after consultation with its other members.



The land that had been allotted specifically to a branch might have remained the common property of all its members, or it might have been divided out among its constituent sections. In that case the position would be the same as in the case of the land of the group, the word "branch" being substituted for "group," and "section" for branch," and so on downwards.

I believe that the division of the land of a group or of a branch of a group, might result in the allotment of a portion to a single person, because ownership by individuals, as distinguished from branches, seems to have prevailed; in this case it would be consistent with what seems to have been the general system that such a person would be able to deal with his own portion without consulting anybody, and I will now consider this point.

The question arises: in what way could a man's rights over a plot of land be purely personal, so that he could dispose of it without consulting anybody? Such a situation could, I think, in the event of an allotment, only arise as the result of definite allocations of land, in which he was an allottee in his own right, and not as the head of a sub-group of the group whose land was divided up; and if this is correct, it seems to follow that the man would have to be one who had no descendants of his own, on whose behalf, as well as his own, he would hold it. This would mean, apparently, that he would have to be a bachelor, or a married man without children<sup>1</sup>. If he afterwards had children, he would, I imagine, cease to be an absolute owner, and when these children grew up, and again, still more perhaps, when families of grandchildren were born and grew up, he would have to consult them, or some of them before alienating any of his land. I am in this matter only trying to trace out the probable development and consequences of the underlying ideas which are, I think, indicated by the evidence; but I will give an example of a situation in which ownership by an individual would, I think, arise. Let us imagine the case of a social group whose founder was the father of six sons, to whom the father's land passed on his death, one of those sons having become the head of the family. Let us then assume that one of these sons had not married, but the other five had married and had children, and perhaps grandchildren, the sons

<sup>1</sup> A childless man could, of course, be head of a group or sub-group of his collateral relations. My suggestion merely is that only such a person could become an allottee in his own right.



themselves, being still alive, or they, or some of them being dead. All these descendants of the original father, forming the group, would be entitled to share in the use as common property of all the land, the ownership of which was in the head of the group, held by him on behalf of the group. Then let us suppose that it was decided to portion out the land among the persons entitled. It stands to reason, I think, that, whilst a share would be allotted to each of the five families, the bachelor son would, if living, receive his share along with the others, and this would be his own personal share.

The following are some incidental statements as to the land, and some of them bear upon the question of personal ownership. I will insert comments as to each in square brackets. These comments, it must be understood, are only suggestions by me, and must not be regarded as assertions; and they are based upon what were, I think, true Samoan customs, possible modern changes being disregarded.

Schultz says that land which anyone had received by inheritance, or as a gift from a third party, or had acquired by his own means was private property, and would be subject to no family control<sup>1</sup>. [So far as inherited property was concerned this would be so if the man was absolute owner of his share, though the land would be subject to regulations affecting food supply, and perhaps other matters, of the group of which the man was a member. The gift from a third party might be for an indefinite period; but I do not think it would bestow on the man the absolute ownership of the land. I cannot interpret the reference to acquirement by his own means, unless it means that he had been granted the use of the land for a consideration, probably undefined.] According to Ella, land was held by tenure of inheritance derived from the original possessor, and was divided and subdivided as families multiplied; though he also says that some holdings were possessed by gift or purchase<sup>2</sup>. [The first part of the statement is correct; but *possession by gift or purchase* would not, I think, include, nominally, permanent ownership of the land.] Stuebel makes a statement with reference to some great orators of Faleata, in Tuamasanga. His exact meaning is not very clear, but its effect, so far as our present subject is concerned, seems to be that each of these orators was at the head of a district, but that nevertheless the members of the district were the owners

<sup>1</sup> Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. xx, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. iv, p. 627.



of their own portions of land, and these orators were not masters of, and so could not sell, the lands of these members, but could sell their own portions<sup>1</sup>. [This would be so, subject to the probability that many of the members were owners as heads of sub-groups; the head of either a group or sub-group could sell with the requisite consent; the sales would not be absolute.] Stuebel refers to the case of a *matai* [head of a group] who had his own land scattered in different villages, and says that, if the people of his own family did not live on the land, he would allow a neighbouring chief or *tulafale* to use the land, and eat the food growing there. If nothing was paid directly for this, it would happen that if the *matai* was collecting mats, as for instance for his daughter, or for the building of a house, the wife of this chief or *tulafale* would bring him a fine mat as a present in consideration of the land that he was using<sup>2</sup>. [This would be a letting out, probably for a consideration not definitely fixed, and presumably not for a fixed period, of the land. It would be done by the *matai* with the approval of the group on whose behalf he, as its head, owned the land. I may explain that mats were really a sort of currency in Samoa; the fact that it was not the tenant himself, but his wife, who brought a mat has no significance affecting our present subject, as mats were regarded in Samoa as being specially feminine assets, and it would, I think, in ordinary course be the woman that presented them. Probably the *matai* was collecting mats for his daughter's dowry on marriage.] Stuebel also, after asserting that Samoans could not rightly sell their land, speaks of an exception, as between a chief and a *tulafale*, in which, apparently, the latter was given a piece of land, in exchange for which he provided the chief with food, or performed certain other services for him<sup>3</sup>. [This statement, I may say, is taken from a lengthened disquisition, the exact meaning of which is difficult to follow, but the transaction would probably be one of letting for an undefined period. If the chief was absolute owner of the land in question, he could enter into the transaction without consulting anybody.] Von Bülow refers to two Samoan villages which only possessed land on the coast, and had, in order to plant their bananas, taro, etc., to encroach upon the property of their neighbours<sup>4</sup>. [I think we may assume that they were

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 126 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXI, p. 86.



not habitual trespassers, but used the land with the permission of its owners, and would probably have to do something in return.] Von Bülow also says that all who were not chiefs were bondsmen, without property, and were called "stinking pigs"; and he tells us that, if a chief wished to reward a bondsman for services, or to increase his own nearer following, he gave the bondsman a piece of land, on which to found a house and family, and he says that this was the origin of the word *tulafale*. He then says that the chief could take the *tulafale's* property, kill him, drive him away or receive him again, and remain the possessor of the land<sup>1</sup>. [I doubt whether von Bülow ever grasped the social relationship between the *ali'i* and the *tulafale*, and his explanation of the origin of the word *tulafale* is, according to my views, absurd. He is apparently, in his account of the custom, treating the terms bondsman and *tulafale* as synonymous, and the practice to which he refers was evidently only a gift of use of the land during the chief's pleasure.]

I now turn to the subject of boundaries and boundary-marks. Stair says that the boundaries between the different settlements [what I have called village districts] were well-defined and zealously defended. The lands of each settlement were again subdivided and owned by individual proprietors; but if the ownership of these various claimants became obscure and difficult to substantiate, the boundaries of the villages [what I also have called villages] were well known and respected. The land had its owners to the mountain tops<sup>2</sup>. Though I am now dealing with the subject of boundaries, I may point out a possible significance of this statement with reference to the question of definite allocation of land. Whilst the allocations to the social groups occupying village districts and villages were well defined, the plots of the smaller groups—say small families, or domestic households—within a village were apparently not always so clear; and this seems to me to be what we should expect, because with these smaller groups, as the members of such a group would be relatively few in number, and closely related to one another, and the amount of their land would be small, division into separate ownerships, each owner cultivating his own several sorts of crop, would not always be so easy, and community of ownership and cultivation would often, I should think, be the more con-

<sup>1</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, pp. 192 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Stair, p. 83.



venient method. Brown says the boundaries were marked by pathways, by natural boundaries, such as a river, by stones half buried, or by trenches<sup>1</sup>. According to Wilkes, lands were allotted and distinguished by known boundaries<sup>2</sup>. Von Bülow says the boundaries of the land of kinsfolk (*Sippen*) always pushed out to the sea on one side, and the inland boundaries were fixed by the mountain ridge; but as to this he refers to a difficulty arising if the central range was formed by several chains running parallel. On the coasts, the boundary, as far as the land constantly planted, was usually fixed by mighty stone walls, which at the same time served as walls of defence. Over cultivated plains the boundary was marked by peculiarities of surface, ravines, water-courses, hills, mountains, peculiar formations of rock, and even by remarkable trees, of which he gives examples<sup>3</sup>. Whitmee, after saying that the land was systematically divided, refers to its transmission from generation to generation<sup>4</sup>. Stuebel says the boundaries of the village district, of the individual villages, and of the families, were quite definitely known<sup>5</sup>. According to Ella, each village was generally enclosed by stone parapet walls, and this enclosure was carried across the roads by barriers of stones or trunks of trees<sup>6</sup>; and I find in Pratt's dictionary the word *tuufatu* given as meaning "to place stones (as in marking a boundary)." I may point out that the mere presence of recognized boundaries indicates a recognition of some form or degree of separate group ownership, and that in Samoa, this recognition seems to have developed considerably.

The "mighty stone walls" of which von Bülow speaks are mentioned by him in a discussion which refers primarily, if not entirely, to the island of Savai'i; but Ella's reference to the "stone parapet walls" by which villages were generally enclosed applies, I think, to Samoa generally. The mention of these stone walls impels me to draw attention to some other references to them, though in doing so I shall, to a certain extent, be going outside the main subject matter of this chapter.

I have referred in a previous chapter to the tradition, reported by von Bülow, as to the will of Ationgie, by which he divided the islands of Upolu and Savai'i between his two sons Lealali and

<sup>1</sup> Brown, p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXI, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Whitmee, *J.A.I.* vol. VII, p. 374.

<sup>5</sup> Stuebel, p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> Ella, *J.P.S.* vol. VIII, p. 234 note 4.



Savea, to the latter of whom he gave the Atua and Tuamasanga divisions of Upolu, while he gave the division of Aana in Upolu and the island of Savai'i to Lealali, who thereupon went to Savai'i to organize its government by sub-chiefs. Von Bülow says that the will of Ationgie proves that conditions as to landed property were regulated by the natives of Samoa at a very early date; and that they fixed the limits of the landed property of the chiefs<sup>1</sup>. Without assuming that the tradition was historically correct, we may, I think, take the fact that there was such a tradition as evidence of a belief as to the ancient character of the system of delimiting the areas of chiefs; and von Bülow might in this matter have quoted the tradition as to the will of Pili also. According to the story as told by von Bülow, the boundaries of the districts in Savai'i were marked by stone walls, very abundant material for which is to be found in the lava rubble of the island; and he tells us that the people of Fa'asaleleanga [a district on the eastern coast of the island] still called themselves *o tangata o le atiatipa o Salafai*, "the people of the erection of the stone walls of Salafai" (Savai'i)<sup>2</sup>. There is a further reference to these stone walls in an account which commences with Lealali's going to Savai'i, and then tells us that, when the erection of the stone wall boundaries of the districts was finished, Lealali went to a district in the south side of the island where he met a chief holding an assembly at Fatufasanga, which was the name of one of the walls, and indicated to him the position and extent of the district that was allotted to him<sup>3</sup>. Passing now to another period, we come to the attack upon Samoa, also referred to in a previous chapter, made by the Tongans under the *tuitonga* Tala'aifei'i. This king is said to have set up his court in Savai'i, and there erected a fortified camp, the walls of which, with a monument he constructed, are still shown; the interest of this arises mainly from von Bülow's statement that "even now" the natives show with pride the blocks of rock which were brought by the people of the various places—blocks which, he says, the Samoans can scarcely move, and much less carry up a steep mountain wall<sup>4</sup>. Von Bülow says elsewhere that, when the Tongans had conquered Samoa, they appear to have awarded land to each of their families, and the boundaries of the land, which may still be seen, were laid out with stones, and the whole land, even the

<sup>1</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 60 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 365.



uninhabited part of it, was thus distributed<sup>1</sup>. He does not tell us on what evidence of tradition he bases his association of these stone boundaries with the Tongan invaders.

Krämer tells us of some ancient stone walls which he found near Asau, on the northern coast of Savai'i. He refers to two stone walls, parallel, and apparently very near each other, about two metres in height and breadth, but gradually dying away; but this meagre description of them is not very helpful, and the matter is complicated by the appearance in a sketch plan, given by him, of what seems to be another stone wall, crossing the two parallel walls at right angles, to which he does not refer in the text. He says these were the great stone walls of Asau, the boundary walls of the district according to von Bülow (*I.A.E.* vol. XIII, pp. 59, 60) [*vide ante*]. He admits the possibility that the people of Fa'asaleleanga called themselves *o tangata o le atiatipa o Salafai*, but says that in point of fact this was the descriptive name by which certain persons were addressed in the *fa'alupenga* [complimentary greetings at a *fono*] of the Asau district; and he says that such boundary walls were generally called *pa tuaoi*, or "wall of the neighbours"<sup>2</sup>.

Concerning this last comment, I may point out that Fa'asaleleanga is the southern portion of the east coast of Savai'i, whilst Asau is at the westerly end of the north coast; and it is possible that each district claimed for its ancestors the credit of having erected the walls in its own locality. Then, as regards the walls found by Krämer, it must be noticed that they were near Asau, which, according to one of the traditions of the Tongan invasion, was the district in which the *tuitonga* landed at Savai'i, and it might be that the walls which Krämer found were not boundary walls, but were remains of the fortifications which, as von Bülow tells us, were constructed by the *tuitonga*. Two parallel walls would be more likely, I should imagine, to be fortification works than boundary walls, especially if they were crossed at right angles by another wall; but it might well be that these and other walls had been fortified boundaries, the camp being placed on the line of the wall.

Krämer says that the river Mulifatu, near Luatuanu'u, is the boundary between Atua and Tuamasanga<sup>3</sup>; but he tells us that at one time, about two hundred years ago, the boundary was a watercourse near Lufilufi<sup>4</sup>. Luatuanu'u is shown in his

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* vol. LXIX, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 76 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 272 and note 1.



map of Upolu as being in Atua close to the boundary between the two divisions, which he gives roughly in a straight line; but Lufilufi is in Atua much further east, from which it appears that within the last two centuries Atua had increased considerably at the expense of Tuamasanga. An extensive change of this sort might seem to be inconsistent with my contention that the grouping of Samoa was essentially and in the main of a social character, but I do not think that it really is so. The great families of the three main divisions of Upolu were so closely related and intermixed by intermarriages that the chiefs of the district that had changed hands—perhaps the transfer refers only to northern Upolu—may well have been so related to both the Malietoa and the *tuiatua* families that socially their districts might form part of the dominions of either of them.

Krämer tells us elsewhere that the boundaries of Tuamasanga *are* [my italics—he is evidently speaking of modern times] famous battle-fields called *tafa* [*tafa* is the Samoan word for a battle-field, so presumably Krämer is not here applying it to certain special fields]; for from olden times Tuamasanga was the enemy of Atua and Aana, with which it was always fighting. He refers to some of these battle-fields, and says as to one of them, that the boundary between Lau'i'i [shown on his map as being on the northern coast of Tuamasanga, close to the border line between Tuamasanga and Atua] and Luatuanu'u [mentioned above] was formed by a river valley [perhaps the Mulifatu mentioned above] where the opposing parties took up their positions on the hills divided by the valley<sup>1</sup>. Krämer does not here refer to any stone walls in connection with these boundaries.

I have referred in previous pages to Nafanua, the ancestress of the Tonumaip'e'a family of Savai'i, a great Samoan war goddess, the daughter of Savea Si'uleo, one of their gods of the dead. Stuebel tells a story of fighting in which she engaged, by her father's instructions, in the district of Asau, in the north-western corner of Savai'i, in which she was victorious, but by order of Si'uleo, she discontinued the pursuit of the retreating foe when they reached the stone wall of Fualanga<sup>2</sup>. Stuebel says elsewhere that large and strong walls were built of large stones in the different villages of Samoa, and are still

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 221 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Stuebel, p. 153. Cf. p. 156. This name does not appear in Krämer's map; perhaps it was the name of the wall.



to be seen<sup>1</sup>; and from the context I gather he is speaking of both Upolu and Savai'i.

The district of Aleipata, at the eastern end of the division of Atua, was, according to Krämer, governed by two orator chiefs, named Tafua and Fuatanga. The district was divided into two parts of which one part, ruled by Fuatanga, was called *o le itu pa i lunga*, or the side above the wall, and the other, ruled by Tafua, was called *o le itu pa i lalo*, or the side below the wall<sup>2</sup>. No mention is made by Krämer of the actual presence of any dividing wall between these two sections of the district; but I think we may assume that there was one, or had been one in days past; and it is clear on comparing the map with Krämer's information as to the villages under the dominions of these respective chiefs that the wall must have run east and west. On the south coast of Atua, immediately to the west of Aleipata, is the village district of Lepa [which means the wall], and Turner tells us of a legendary chief who came to live there, and that at a meeting held for the division of the lands of Atua, the chiefs attending the meeting voted him the place and neighbourhood where he lived "at Lepa, or the wall," which, of old, ran across the island and ended there"<sup>3</sup>. If the wall ended at Lepa, it probably ran north and south—that is inwards from the coast. Turner also refers to the village district of Solosolo, which is shown in Krämer's map as being near Lufilufi, on the northern coast of Atua. He says that the name Solosolo means "falling," and that the town was so named from a loose stone wall which the first settlers there built, but which repeatedly fell down. Aumua and Oloatua were the names of the two divisions of the settlement, separated by the wall<sup>4</sup>. There were various versions of the stories of the girl Sina and the eel and the origin of coconuts; but the incident to which I draw attention here is that of the dying eel telling Sina to take his head as her share of his cooked body, and bury it near "the stone wall," which she did, and out of it grew a coconut<sup>5</sup>. It is very likely that this was a boundary wall. Brown, after referring to the use of stone walls four to six feet high as forts, tells us of the little island of Manono which was fortified by its people by the erection round it of a high wall, five miles long<sup>6</sup>. It is obvious that in this case the wall was purely defensive and was not a boundary wall.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, pp. 279 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 244 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Brown, p. 171.



I have, in introducing all these references to the Samoan stone walls, travelled somewhat outside the subject matter of this chapter, being impelled to do this in part by the interest that is attached to them, and a doubt as to a more suitable place in which to deal with them at a future date. Nevertheless they have a definite bearing on the subject of the allocation and separation into different ownerships of land held by people whose ideas and practices were to a large extent communistic, and had probably been still more so in the distant past. The evidence points to the use of the walls for two purposes, namely the marking of boundaries and defence; but I think it probable that many of them served both purposes. Perhaps the most interesting thing about these walls, so far as our present subject is concerned, is the great age of some of them, as indicated by the traditions, which may point to a development, long ago, out of a previous communism, of ideas of separate ownership by groups; and I may point out as to this, that the old walls, or many of them, may have been originally purely defensive structures, which had afterwards come to be recognized as boundary walls.

I now propose to suggest, as regards Samoa, what I think are the probable or possible answers to my questions as to the tenure and control of the land.

(1) There had been an extensive development of systems of division and separate sub-group ownership of the land of a social group, though in a number of districts or villages systems of common ownership by the group remained unaltered. If we start with the recognition of the ownership by the subjects of a king—say the *tuiaana*—of the land comprising his dominions, and bear in mind that the large groups headed by the great chiefs had their ancestral lands, forming parts of those dominions, it is clear that the idea of separate ownership by these large groups had developed very fully; and it is when we come down to the smaller groups, occupying perhaps villages, that we find the difference between the development or otherwise of separate ownership in different places. In some of these groups the land remained the common property of the group, whilst in others it had been portioned out among its sections<sup>1</sup>. There are statements that refer, or

<sup>1</sup> I use only the general term "group" for simplicity. Of course all groups forming parts of a clan (using this term to indicate the entire main group bound together by ties of relationship) would themselves be sub-groups; and so on downwards.



may possibly refer, to individual ownership by a single person, and I have suggested a way in which such ownership might arise. I draw attention to the caution with which we must, I think, construe statements as to "ownership" of land, believing that the origin of what is called ownership had simply been a right or permission to occupy. The conception of separate ownership had apparently reached its highest development in the case of the large groups with their ancestral chiefs and ancestral lands, whilst in the case of a very small group, such as a domestic family, it had probably developed very little, and in many cases not at all; I have referred to the difficulty attending actual dividing up in the last case. There is evidence of division even of the waters of the lagoon channel, and of differing customs in different groups as to the division or otherwise of the waste and bush land. It seems, as regards the bush and waste land, that a group which had divided up its village and garden plots would sometimes keep the bush and waste land as common property of the group, though it again, or parts of it, was sometimes the subject of separate ownership by sections of the group. There are, I think, indications that point to an association of separate ownership of, or right to occupy, a plot with the devotion of labour to it, such as the building of a house upon it or cultivating it; but we cannot say, as between allocation of the land and the expenditure upon it of labour, which of the two was the cause, and which the effect. Nor indeed is there, I think, any ground for assuming that the precedence of one or other of these two was always the same.

(2) Ella refers to the tenure of land by inheritance from the original possessor, and its division and subdivision as families multiplied; but there is no actual description of the machinery by which this division and subdivision was effected. If, however, we accept the evidence which has appeared in a previous chapter as to social grouping in Samoa, and recognize the idea that the land of a social group was regarded as belonging to its head, the process seems in one respect fairly obvious. Take the case of a large group with a head chief or king as its ruler, divided into a number of sub-groups, each governed by a chief, and each subdivided into a number of sections, each of which would also have its official head; and so on downwards. The primary division would be among the sub-groups, the land allotted to each of them being regarded as vested in its chief;



and the secondary divisions by the sub-groups would be among their respective sections, the land allotted to each being vested in its head, and so on.

This, however, still leaves open the question who was or were the person or persons who decided upon and carried out the division or allotment of the land of a group among its members. It is desirable that before attempting to answer this question we should consider how the subject of division would probably arise. I propose to do this with reference, not only to Samoa, but to the other islands also, and for this purpose I will try to sketch the developments that might arise after the arrival and settlement of a group of persons, with a chief at their head, in new territory.

The land, the amount of which at the outset would often be relatively small, but would afterwards increase, would probably then be regarded as the common property of the group, subject to such rights, if any, of control, and perhaps of nominal ownership, as might be possessed by the chief, as head and on behalf of the group. A division of the land among its sub-groups might, I imagine, be made immediately or at any time afterwards; but I draw attention to a possible process of gradual evolution of separate ownership, for which purpose I will assume that common ownership of the land continued, perhaps for a considerable period. The work of cultivation would commence, this being done perhaps by the members of the group all working together. It is possible, however, that the land might be portioned out among the sub-groups, which, if the group was only small, might be merely domestic families, each having a piece which it was its duty to cultivate, though the recognition of a common right of the group as a whole to all the land, and to the produce of the industry of all the sub-groups, might continue unaltered. The eventual tendency might, I think, be for each sub-group to continue, season after season, to cultivate the same plot of land which had been allotted to it for the purpose; so that after a time each portion of land would be associated in the minds of the people with the sub-group that was cultivating it, and thus a sort of possessory title would come to be recognized. In the day-to-day life of the people a practice would arise for each sub-group to rely for food primarily upon the produce of its own adjacent gardens, and the idea would develop that it had a sort of prior right to the produce of its own labour.



What I have been trying to trace is a possible development, either by deliberate division or by a process of evolution in Polynesia, in the distant past, of systems of separate ownership or right to possession of or by sub-groups. Between that time and the period when the collection of our information as to the customs of the people commenced there must have been a long interval; and we can only turn to the relatively recent time when this evidence was obtained. The systems of separate ownership or possession had evidently developed extensively. There were traditions and history telling of distributions of land by parents among their children, by chiefs among their relatives, and by conquerors among their principal warriors, who would generally be more or less closely related to them; and fresh branches of previously existing groups had come into being, and had become the possessors of the lands in which they had settled, or which had been allotted to them out of the land of the group. Nevertheless, even in these more recent times, the idea of communal ownership still survived in places, and allocations to sub-groups of common land belonging to the groups were still being made; whilst, as we shall see in considering the control of food supply, in matters affecting the provision of food for the group as a whole, the sub-groups were, notwithstanding their rights as possessors of their own tracts of land, subject to the jurisdiction of the chief or other administrative authority of the entire group. I may also point out that the protection that could be placed by owners on trees, crops, fruit, pigs and everything else by the imposition of a taboo upon them, with the beliefs as to the dire supernatural troubles that were supposed to fall upon the offender who disregarded the taboo, must have aided greatly in emphasizing the recognition of the rights of private property; but this is a subject which I cannot discuss in this book.

Disregarding the possible evolutionary process, I now turn to the question, who was or were in Samoa the person or persons who directed the distribution of the land of the group among its sub-groups, either for admittedly short periods, after which there would be redistributions, or indefinitely, so as to lead in cases to more or less permanent right to possession? This duty of distribution would presumably be effected, either by the chief of the group, acting under his powers as its official head, or by consultation among its members, or the more influential of them; and the question to be



answered is, which of these two methods of distribution prevailed?

I will commence the consideration of this matter by referring to a few traditions. Pili, as we have seen, was supposed to have been a Manu'an who had come from Manu'a to Upolu, though he evidently had a Upoluan ancestry also. He had already been married to the daughter of the *tuimanu'a*, but in Upolu he married the daughter of the *tuiaana*, and the belief evidently was that in some way or other he had acquired control over Upolu, which he then divided out among his three sons in the way that has already been told; and this event was the traditional origin of the separation of the island into the three main divisions which have continued up to modern times. Then we have the tradition of a division at a later date by Ationgie of the islands of Upolu and Savai'i between his two sons. There is also, in this chapter, the story of Lealali indicating to the Savai'ian chief the position and extent of the land allotted to him; whilst, on the other hand, there is the reference to a meeting of chiefs to arrange the division of the lands of Atua, and their deciding the portion to be given to the Lepa chief. The truth or otherwise of these stories does not matter; the point, so far as our present purpose is concerned, is that the traditions would probably be in accord with what the Samoans recognized as the method by which the division of the land of a group would or might be carried out.

My search for evidence as to the person or persons who divided the land of the group in relatively recent times has only brought to light two statements bearing on the matter. Stuebel says that the head (*matai*) of a sub-group (*puiatinga*) governed the land assigned to him by the head (*matai sili*) of the group<sup>1</sup>. Graeffe, as we have seen, tells us that the various *tulafale* or heads of families came to an agreement in their assemblies as to the portion of land to be cultivated by each, and to belong to him for the time being. The former statement seems to refer to a more or less permanent allocation of land by the head of a group to a sub-group, represented by its head, and it is clear from the context that Stuebel is referring to a division by the *matai-sili* among all the sub-groups, represented by their respective *matai*, of the land of the whole group, of which he was the head. Graeffe's statement, however, points to a mutual discussion by the heads of sub-groups as to

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 107.



allotment to them, probably on behalf of their respective sub-groups, and refers apparently only to temporary use. The person or persons whose power and duty it was to determine the allocation of land would, one would think, be the same whether the allocation was, or might become, more or less permanent, or was only—say—seasonal; and if so, the sparse evidence is somewhat contradictory, and does not tell us what was the system in Samoa. Perhaps it varied with the sway of relative power of a chief or other head of a social group and his subjects.

(3) I will begin the discussion of the permanency of allotments of land within the group by referring again to the ownership of the lands of the great Samoan families, whose traditions extended to the distant past. Some of these traditions and the genealogies disclose relationships between these families, based on common ancestry long ago, and some of the old traditions associate the families to which they relate with the districts which those families were occupying in modern times, and even point to the founding of the village districts or villages in which they were still living, and to the origins of the local habitations of branch families derived from intermarriages between members of these older families. Then again, the ancient boundary walls, if such they were, and the stories told about some of them, point to a considerable antiquity of the recognition of some form of separate ownership by groups of people. If we accept the hypothesis of an original system of common ownership of land, followed by the growth of systems of separate ownership, we must believe that, so far as many of these great families were concerned, the changed ideas had begun to develop long ago, and apparently the retention by those old families or sections of them of their ancient heritages had been to a large extent permanent. I should imagine that, as generations followed one another, the tendency would be for the recognition of separate ownership by these old groups and sub-groups to become more pronounced and definite; as their original ancestral relationships with one another became more and more matters of the past, the closeness of inter-relationship, with its attendant conception of common ownership of land, would become correspondingly weaker; and thus we find that in recent days these great groups and sub-groups regarded their land, which had for many years, perhaps in some cases for centuries, passed down by succession to the



holders of their titles, as being to all intents and purposes their own land, which could not be taken from them.

I think that these great and ancient main groups probably showed the maximum amount of permanent separation, one from another, in the ownership of the land, and in fact this separation seems to have been clear and definite. Let us now go to the other extreme, and consider the case of a small relatively unimportant family group the quantity of whose land would probably be exceedingly limited. This brings me to a question to which I have already referred briefly. We may, I think, assume that as a rule the land would be the common property of the family, especially as it would require various forms of vegetable food, each of which would be consumed by all the members of the family, and a division of the land, and allocation to each of the sons of a specific plot, in which to grow the several sorts of food required, might well be difficult and inconvenient. As the family expanded, however, sons marrying and having children, more food would be required. There might be a more extensive cultivation of the family land, only a portion of which had previously been converted into gardens; and additional land might be obtained by clearing and planting waste and bush land. There might then be allocations of some sort of plots of land to members of the family—say to the separate domestic households of the sons—and this might be the commencement of a system of sub-group ownership. Apparently, however, any such allocations of portions of these small areas of land, if made, were usually more or less temporary—perhaps for a single season—so as to enable the respective holders to reap the fruits of their labour of the year; this is suggested by Brown's statement that the lands of a family [forming part of the population of a village] generally belonged to the family as a whole, and by Stair's reference to the definiteness of the boundaries between the lands of village districts and villages and the lack of this as between the occupants of a village.

If I am right in my suggestion, we have before us examples of the two extreme limits of permanency of occupancy, and the reverse, by a section of a social group to which part of the land of the group had been allotted; and the question arises, what would be the mean or means between these two extremes? There are two statements to which I will refer. We have seen that, according to Goodenough, there could not be any real



title to land; the title was by occupation. Any member of a tribe that owned land could come and take his portion; but his right was only that of occupation. Graeffe says that the various heads of families or *tulafale* came to an agreement in their assemblies as to the portion of land to be cultivated by each, and to belong to him *for the time being* [my italics]. We do not know what Goodenough means by a "tribe," the right of one of whose members to a portion of its land was only that of occupation. The *tulafale*, of whom Graeffe speaks, might be the powerful orator heads of comparatively large and important related groups, or they might be representatives of quite small and unimportant groups, or possibly both these would be included; very likely he is referring to a general practice adopted by groups whose heads were *tulafale*, and which at all events would as a rule be relatively middle classed and small, as compared with groups headed by *ali'i* or chiefs.

I do not think these two statements help us to deal with the general question of actual permanency of occupation, which must, except so far as it refers to the great titled family groups on the one hand and the very small unimportant groups on the other, remain unanswered; and indeed it is probable that there was a diversity of custom as regarded permanency, just as there was as to the dividing up of common land. The statements are interesting, however, because they seem to indicate that, even if ownership of land did in some cases become permanent, or practically so, it was not so in theory. When land was allotted to a sub-group or a person on a division of the land of a group, it was not regarded as being given to it or him absolutely and for ever, it or he being regarded only as having been given the right to occupy it for the time being. The absence of any custom to sell land out and out, in our sense of the term, may well be associated with this conception. I also suggest that, if I am right in all this, the customs which we are considering may have had their origin in a survival of an old system of community of ownership by all the members of a group, notwithstanding the evolution of the practice of division and separate ownership.

(4) My answer to the question as to the power of the head of a group to alienate the land of the group is that it was his duty to consult the members of the group; and I refer as to this to my suggested explanation of Schultz's statements. The evidence of a single writer is in itself but a small basis upon



which to reach a conclusion on such an important point; but I think that Schultz's evidence, as interpreted by me, is in accord with what we might expect, looking at the matter in the light of the fundamental principles of Samoan social systems.

(5) I think a group, acting as a whole, could alienate any part of the land of the group, so long at all events as it remained the common property of the group, and had not been divided out, more or less permanently, among its sub-groups, or individual members. So also a sub-group had power to deal with a share in the land of the group that had been definitely allotted to it, and not divided out among its sections or members. Similarly, an individual could alienate, at his own free will, a share in the land of the group belonging to him personally, and not as the head of a sub-group, whose members he would have to consult. I think it is improbable, however, in a case in which the land of a group had been divided out, practically permanently, among its constituent sections, that the land that had been allotted to any one of those sections, whether a sub-group or an individual, could be alienated by the members of the group as a whole, or their representatives, against the will of the sub-group or individual to whom it had been allotted, unless, possibly, there was a special reason for doing so in the interests of the group. This, however, is merely an expression of opinion, and is not based on any direct evidence.

(6) There are various references, in which different terms are used, to the disposal of land. Writers speak of "disposing of" it; of "alienating" it; of "selling" it; of "giving" it. Then we have Schultz's reference to land that a man had "acquired by his own means"; Stuebel's reference to the giving of permission to another man to "use" the land, and to "exchanging" it for provision of food or performance of services; and von Bülow's statement as to a village's "encroachment" upon the property of their neighbours. In considering this question of the mode of alienation, I start with the assumption that land was not, according to Samoan usage, sold, in the sense in which we use that term, and suggest that statements as to its being inalienable refer to this; and, as regards the various English terms used by writers, I discard all of them, except such as give us a clue to the probable characters of the transactions. No doubt references to sales may have been correct



in fact; but if so, I think the transactions were irregular so far as native custom was concerned.

There appears to have been a system analogous to what we call the "letting" of land—that is, allowing someone else to have the use of it. I associate with this practice Stuebel's statement that a *matai* whose land was scattered in different villages would allow another chief or *tulafale* to use what was, I presume, a portion of the land which the family of the *matai* was not occupying; and that, if nothing was paid directly for this, the chief or *tulafale* would, when the *matai* was collecting mats for some purpose, bring him a fine mat in consideration of the land he was using. I also connect with the practice Stuebel's statement as to a chief giving to a *tulafale* a piece of land, in exchange for which the latter provided him with food or performed services for him; also von Bülow's references to the encroachment by villagers upon the property of their neighbours. It is possible that Goodenough is referring to the same thing when he tells us that a white man, who apparently thought he was buying land, was only acquiring the authority to come and cultivate. I find no reference to the letting out of land, either for a fixed period or at a fixed rent, payable in kind, or in fixed services to be rendered, or both; and I should not expect to do so, as business exactitudes of this character were, I think, quite foreign to Samoan ideas and practices. I imagine that if the landlord, as I may call him, wanted the land himself, or was dissatisfied with the contributions in kind or services rendered by the tenant, he would be able to turn him out, and retake the land.

Stuebel refers to the giving away of land by the head of a family with the family's consent; Schultz says that land which anyone had received by inheritance, or as a gift from a third party, or had acquired by his own means, was private property, and would be subject to no family control; Ella tells us that land was held, not only by tenure of inheritance, but also by gift or purchase; von Bülow refers to the case of a chief, who wished to reward a bondsman, by which he apparently means, or includes, a *tulafale*, for services, or to increase his own nearer following, and who gave that man a piece of land, in which to found a house and family; but he explains that the chief could at any time expel the man, and take back the property. The question arises, what do these writers mean when they speak of the giving of land? The practice, as indi-



cated by von Bülow, was not a gift, if the giver could at any time retake the land; also I think that the idea of a gift that was intentionally and necessarily permanent would be quite out of accord with the underlying Samoan conceptions of land tenure. It seems more probable that what was given was merely the permission to occupy, perhaps without any recompense equivalent to rent—I can say nothing as to that—though the occupation might, if prolonged, become more or less permanent. I do not know to what Schultz refers in speaking of land which a man had acquired by his own means, but I have suggested a possible explanation.

I may say, as regards the whole question of alienation of land, that the general effect of the limited and scrappy evidence at our disposal seems to be that indigenous Samoan ideas did not include the conception of a necessarily permanent alienation; though possession, nominally temporary, may often have become, by lapse of time, more or less permanent, and in the case of the big titled groups undoubtedly was so.

There is no evidence pointing to any restriction as to the person to whom a man might alienate his land in any way; but I think it must have been necessary that this person should be a relation, though I cannot say what degree of closeness of relationship would generally be requisite, and indeed this would vary according to circumstances. Alienation to a stranger would involve his admission into the district of the group; and this could only be done, I imagine, if the stranger were adopted into the group, and so became regarded as one of its members. Grants to white men were probably regarded in this light.



## CHAPTER XL

### LAND TENURE AND CONTROL (CONTINUED)

#### TONGA

IN Tongatabu, according to the French missionaries, hospitality made a single family of these large populations, and even united one island to another. It was a vast community, where everyone had the right to take, and nobody went to the trouble of bringing anything; it was not so much hospitality as a general mendicity, authorized by the ideas of the country—the right to live at the expense of others. Houses, food, animals, children, any object whatever, although supposed to belong to special proprietors, were really public property. If a man built a house for himself and his family, and another wished to live there, he could do so by virtue of the rights of hospitality. He who was preparing his meal was obliged to share it with all those who presented themselves, and if there were too many mouths for the food, it was he who must wait. If a man had anything, and another person saw it, it belonged to the latter, and must be offered to him with apologies for its smallness, and the offer would never be refused. A father or mother had to give up their children to anyone that asked for them<sup>1</sup>. The missionaries had to avoid opening some of their trunks in the presence of chiefs, not because they feared open thefts, but because they would have been compromised by refusals. It would have been said that they were violating the laws of the community, in virtue of which the chiefs had a right to call their own all things that belonged to the missionaries, whilst the latter were equally entitled to claim ownership of anything that belonged to the chiefs<sup>2</sup>. Mariner refers to the same subject, though not so fully<sup>3</sup>. Young says that it was thought to be one of the greatest insults a man could offer to another, who visited him at meal-time, not to offer him a share of the provisions, and the insult might expose the host to a blow of a club; people often gave food to others with the

<sup>1</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XVIII, p. 424; cf. vol. XVII, pp. 9, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 430 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Mariner, vol. II, pp. 133 *sq.*; cf. vol. II, pp. 232 *sq.*



outward appearance of friendship, though they would have liked to stab them<sup>1</sup>. According to Sarah Farmer, if a visitor entered a house at meal-time a portion had to be handed to him; if other visitors followed, the host would divide his small piece into still smaller portions and hand them to the newcomers. If this were not done, it was called *kai vale*, or foolish eating. If a member of a family received a present of food, and ate it alone without telling the others, it was called *kai bo*, or eating in the dark<sup>2</sup>.

As regards the land, Waldegrave says that the *tuitonga* was considered to be the sole proprietor of the island [of Tongatabu], the chiefs holding under him; but he could not displace a chief from his land. The island was divided into a number of portions, a chief being the proprietor of each, the inferior chiefs, the *matabule* and the peasants living on the lands given to them by the chiefs. The chiefs could, and often did, displace the peasants. The kings and chiefs reserved a portion of land for their own use for raising vegetables<sup>3</sup>. According to West, the feudal principle prevailed, the whole country belonging to the king [I think he means the secular king], who regulated the disposal and tenure of lands, and the common orders being placed in a state of serfdom. Land was held in fief. The great landlords derived their lands by hereditary right, in conjunction with their chieftainships, but held them at the will of the supreme ruler; and the land was subdivided by the great land-owners among their families and followers<sup>4</sup>. One of the French missionaries says that none might possess anything by right of property; men and land all belonged to the king<sup>5</sup>. Mr A. Radcliffe Brown has informed me that, though no chief had any power to appoint anything in the nature of a sub-chief, he might perhaps give one of his sons an estate and some followers, but this would only make the son a land-owner—not a chief. All chiefs, great and small, were supposed to hold their lands and power from the *tuitonga*; but the *tuitonga* could not take away from a chief the power that had once been given to him. The autocratic power as overlord of the *tuitonga* passed after the beginning of the seventeenth century to the *tuikano-kubolu*. If he exercised too great a severity over his sub-chiefs, the only remedy seems to have been assassination. Mariner

<sup>1</sup> Young, *S.W.* p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XXXII, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> S. Farmer, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> West, p. 262.



says that, not only the inferior chiefs, but also the *matabule* and *mua* had plantations of their own<sup>1</sup>.

Here, as in Samoa, the idea of an out and out sale of land seems to have been unknown to the native mind prior to contact with white men. The French missionaries say that land was not sold, the natives having no knowledge of anything pertaining to real estate (*immeubles*); but the chiefs, who sympathized with them, would willingly cede the necessary land, and although the soil would still be regarded as the chiefs' property, the missionaries would be able to erect their own constructions, for it would be contrary to all the laws of the country ever to dispute the possession of them<sup>2</sup>. Brenchley says that king George granted to several white men holdings on moderate terms; but that he prohibited the sale of the land to them<sup>3</sup>; and Cooper tells us that the laws of Tonga forbade the sale of land to foreigners, but it might be leased on such liberal conditions and for so long as to be tantamount to a sale<sup>4</sup>.

Concerning the alienation of land, the practice of requiring something in return is indicated by the word *tauva*, which, according to Baker's dictionary, means "an acknowledgment for the loan of a patch of ground." Mariner tells us that a chief made a present to king Finau of a plantation in the island of Vavau about a mile and a half long, and half a mile broad<sup>5</sup>. Mariner asked Finau to give him this plantation, which he agreed to do; but when Mariner further asked that the plantation should be exempt from all "taxes," and that no one might levy contribution from it, the king only agreed to this on a mutual arrangement that the whole plantation was to be considered as being at his service, he being the father and protector of Mariner, but that he would not take anything, or trespass on the plantation without Mariner's consent, he being allowed to regulate everything regarding it just as he pleased, and to consider it thenceforth as his property<sup>6</sup>. This was in pre-missionary days, before native ideas had been affected by contact with white men, and I think we may believe that Finau was acting in accordance with Tongan customs in practically giving the land to Mariner, whilst he himself retained a nominal right to it.

J. R. Forster refers to the fences and partitions so ingeniously

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Brenchley, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Mariner, vol. I, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XVIII, pp. 436 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Cooper, vol. II, p. 163.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 248.



contrived and artfully executed, between the various possessions of each individual family<sup>1</sup>. Turnbull says that, in the island of Eua, the whole country was divided into neat enclosures<sup>2</sup>. According to Hamilton, private property was more exactly ascertained than in Tahiti, and each man's possession was fenced with a beautiful Chinese railing<sup>3</sup>. D'Entrecasteaux says the property was marked out by enclosures<sup>4</sup>; and Pigeard mentions the wattle fences round the properties<sup>5</sup>.

I will now try to suggest such answers as these very insufficient data enable us to give to my questions.

(1) I can only answer the first question by pointing out that, though the conception continued to prevail that all the land belonged to the king—originally and truly to the *tuitonga*, though afterwards the idea may have arisen that it belonged to the *hau*—and though, as the French missionary tells us, none might possess anything by right of property, both men and land belonging to the king, the land in Tonga had been the subject of division and subdivision among the people, definite areas having been considered as belonging in a sense—say the right of occupation—to the various groups and sub-groups. There is no evidence, such as Samoa provides, of diverse concurrent ideas of common and separate ownership.

(2) I have suggested in a previous chapter that, notwithstanding certain statements to the contrary, the selection to a chieftainship, though perhaps nominally made by the king, had to be effected by election by the chief's subjects, subject perhaps to approval by the king, and that a similar system of election probably prevailed among the middle classes; I have also suggested that deposition of a chief was in the hands of the persons qualified to elect him, and that the power of a king or superior chief to do this would only have arisen in cases of serious offence against the state. It is in the light of these propositions that I will consider the present question.

The Haatakalaua and Kanokubolu families were the two great social groups that supplied the secular kings of Tonga-tabu, and they had their own respective portions of the land of the island of which their heads, the *tuihaatakalaua* and the *tuikanokubolu*, were the great chiefs. We may, I think, assume that these were the ancestral dominions of these two chiefs

<sup>1</sup> Forster, *Obs.* p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> Turnbull, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> D'Entrecasteaux, vol. 1, p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> Pigeard, *N.A.P.* vol. 1v, p. 151.



and of the groups of which they were the heads; and if this was so, we start with a system of distribution of the land (however it may have been effected) on a social or family basis. There is no material from which we can take the consideration of this feature of the matter any further, except West's statement that the great landlord chiefs derived their land, in conjunction with their chieftainships, by hereditary right. This mention of *hereditary* right to land, in conjunction with the chieftainship, and Brown's statement that a chief could not appoint a sub-chief are consistent with the view that both succession and inheritance passed down on a chief's death to his duly elected successor, that the succession and inheritance did not depend merely upon the arbitrary act of a king or superior chief, and that the land remained with the chief and his people.

I refer, as regards the question of the allotment of the land of a group among its members, to the statements by Waldegrave that kings and chiefs reserved a portion of land for their own use [which suggests that it was they who distributed it], and that the inferior chiefs, *matabule* and peasants lived on the lands given to them by the chiefs [which probably points to the allocation by great chiefs to *minor* chiefs, and so on downwards]; and to West's statements that the king regulated the disposal and tenure of lands, and the land was subdivided by the great land-owners among their families and followers. These statements point to the head of the group as the person who made the allotments.

The system in Tonga seems to have been more or less similar to that of Samoa, except that there is no indication of allotment by arrangement between the heads of the sub-groups.

(3) The two great families, the Haatakalaua and the Kanokubolu seem to have had their respective districts for a long time back, and we have, as regards the great land-owning chiefs the statement that they derived their land by hereditary right; but there is no further material which enables us to answer this question with any certainty. The original allotment to the sub-groups of their respective portions of the common land of the group having been effected, the portions so allotted would, I think, be regarded as being, in a sense, the land of the respective sub-groups, and would, at all events with the larger groups and sub-groups, be held with a considerable degree of permanency. It may be noted that Waldegrave, in



speaking of displacement of a person by a chief, only speaks of peasants.

(4) and (5) We have no material for answering these questions satisfactorily. There is evidence of grants of land to white men both by the king and by chiefs; but we do not know whether this was done by them with reference to their own land only, or in exercise of powers of dealing with land belonging to groups, or whether, if this was so, the consent of those groups was obtained.

(6) Land could not, according to Tongan customs, be sold outright. The evidence points to a system of merely granting the use of it, and there is no mention either of a fixed term or a fixed consideration, except Brenchley's statement that the land was granted on "moderate terms," and Cooper's reference to a lease on "liberal conditions." In these cases the terms may have been fixed; but these writers are referring to dealings with white men at relatively modern dates, and do not justify the assumption that the fixing of terms was a true Tongan method. Finau's arrangement with Mariner is specially instructive as to this matter; Finau insisted on retaining his rights over the land, including apparently that of levying contributions, but at the same time assuring Mariner that he would not exercise them. I cannot say how we must interpret the statement that a chief made a present of land to Finau.

### SOCIETY ISLANDS

Hamilton says that in Tahiti a man divided everything in common with his friend, and the extent of the word friend was, by them, only bounded by the universe; if he was reduced to his last morsel of bread, he cheerfully divided it with the friend, and the next that came had the same claim, if he wanted it, and so in succession to the man's last mouthful<sup>1</sup>. Crook tells us that when one of the missionaries brought the proposed new laws to the island of Huahine, and they were read in the presence of a few of the principal people, the law concerning the protection of private property was submitted to with reluctance<sup>2</sup>; and he says that the missionary and his supporters were well pleased at the consent given to laws intended to secure private property, which could never be obtained before<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 27th Feb.

<sup>3</sup> Crook, 20th Feb. 1823.



Turnbull says the Tahitians were accustomed to share a part of their food with every one about them, so that the first possessor often had the least portion in the end<sup>1</sup>; he never saw an instance to the contrary<sup>2</sup>. Tyerman and Bennet also refer to the practice of sharing food with everybody<sup>3</sup>. I find in Davies's dictionary a number of Tahitian words with the following meanings. *Aiata*: to eat another's food, or take his property, without leave or consent; to eat as a dog whatever might come in his way. *Aihamumu*: a person who continually imposes upon another by eating his food, etc.; to devour another's food; to beg another's property till it is all expended. *Aiharuma*: a pilferer of food and other things. *Anavenave*: addicted to getting food at another person's house. *Hamumu*: to be burdensome to others by eating their food. *Taia*: to swoon or faint; to die, from the supposed effect of eating without giving to the neighbours. This last word is interesting in that it points to supernatural punishment of death inflicted upon one who did not act in accord with the custom of the country. I think we may assume that community of ownership of private property prevailed to a greater or less degree in the Society Islands, as it did in Samoa and Tonga. I am associating this with community as between members of a social group; and the wide interpretation which was given to what Hamilton calls a friend is not, I think, inconsistent with this. We must remember that a person who was not a member of a social group, could become one by the fictitious tie of adoption or acceptance as a *tayo* or friend; and, indeed, I do not think a stranger would be allowed to remain with a group to which he was not actually related, unless he was accepted by them in some such way. I may call attention to the statement by the Tongan missionaries, that, whilst the chiefs claimed common ownership of the property of the missionaries, they recognized a corresponding ownership by the latter of their own property, which points to a recognition of mutual rights as between the natives and the white man. Ari'i Taimai gives an example of a request by the head chief of the Teva to the chief of one of the Teva districts for the loan of his wife which was complied with. She says that a request for a wife or child, or any other precious thing had to be complied with "subject to reciprocity"<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Turnbull, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Tyerman, vol. 1, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 24.



We have seen that the conception of the ownership by the chief or head of the group of the land of the group prevailed in the Society Islands. Moerenhout says that the jealousy of superior chiefs prevented the king from consolidating his power and adding districts to his domain. If the king succeeded in depriving the most obstinate and seditious members of the high aristocracy of their authority, he could only injure the individual he dispossessed. Some member of the family succeeded, and the family lost neither rights nor power. Even if all the members of one of these first families succumbed in battle, their lands did not pass to the king. There was always a distant relation, or in default of that a subordinate chief, a friend of the deceased, who was ready to replace the latter, taking his name and title<sup>1</sup>. The lands and goods of the nobility and inferior chiefs were not considered as benefices granted by the king, and never reverted to him in case of disinheritance, or during the minority of the holder of the title. These properties were considered private and inviolable, subject to the claims [that is, to food supply, etc.] of the *ari'i* whose revenues were not fixed. The only case in which confiscation was permissible was when a chief defeated a subordinate; but such confiscations were rare, as the subjects of the conquered man hardly ever attached themselves to the conqueror<sup>2</sup>. Moerenhout refers to a case in which a chief robbed a native of his land; but the latter said he would go away with his family and live with the chief's enemies. So the chief appeased him with presents and the return of his land<sup>3</sup>. Ellis says that for treason, rebellion, or withholding supplies, individuals were liable to banishment and confiscation of property; but though the king had the prerogative of nominating the successor, he could not appropriate the lands of the exile to his own use<sup>4</sup>. According to de Bovis, property [he is speaking of land] was hereditary and indivisible amongst the members of the same family; it might be alienated by war, or by voluntary gifts, or by confiscation, though these cases rarely occurred<sup>5</sup>. Elsewhere he says that lands generally remained undivided in the same family, unless a cross-grained relation took it into his head to make a present of them to the king, in which case they were lost to the whole family<sup>6</sup>. Probably the explanation of this reference to the power of a cross-grained relative is to be found

<sup>1</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 8 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 11 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> De Bovis, pp. 245 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 261.



in de Bovis's statement that if two *ra'atira* of the same family, or of two different families, entered into "litigation," which could hardly happen, except on the division or definitive possession of certain lands, the one who thought himself defrauded had the right to give to the king, or one of the members of the royal family, the object contested, which, three parts of the time, he had not the right to possess himself<sup>1</sup>. Waldegrave says that the land was always the absolute property of the king; his word or order could displace and place any chief or person in any district or spot. Each chief had the same absolute power over the land of each individual living in his district; he could banish the occupier and put others in his place, or take it himself, the king having, however, a supreme power over chief and tenant<sup>2</sup>.

I will now try to find what information, or even possible clues, we can extract from this evidence upon the question of the recognition of communal ownership by a group of its land, even though areas or plots had passed to a greater or less extent into the possession of sub-groups or individuals. De Bovis says it was hereditary and indivisible amongst the members of the same family; but then he goes on to say that lands generally remained undivided in the same family, unless a cross-grained relative gave them to the king, in which case they were lost to the whole family, and there is his further statement as to disputes between two *ra'atira*. What does he mean by these references to giving to the king? It may, I think, be assumed that the cross-grained relative was a member of the family, and it would probably be something larger than a mere domestic household, as otherwise de Bovis would hardly use such a wide term as "relative." What land was it, then, that the relative gave to the king? If he was not the head of the family, it is obvious that he could not in any case give more than his individual share, and only that share would be lost to the family, whereas it seems clear that de Bovis is speaking of the whole family property; also, so long as the land had not been divided, he would have no share to give. The only alternative is that he was the head of the family, and gave the family lands. The litigious *ra'atira* also was evidently not dealing with land belonging to himself alone, as otherwise the statement that he

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 243. "Three parts of the time" is the literal translation; but I think he only meant the greater part of the time.

<sup>2</sup> Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, p. 173.



had only the right to possess it for three parts of the time would be nonsense. In his case also it must have been the land of a family or group, of which he was a member; so we are again driven to assume that he was the head of the group. The two conflicting *ra'atira* were, I think, heads of two bodies of people, who are regarded by de Bovis as two separate families, or else two sections of the same family, a difference which is probably merely terminological. What, then, are we to understand by de Bovis's statement that such a thing could hardly happen except on the division or definitive possession of certain lands? I think he must here refer to the division of the common lands of a group, of which what he calls two families were parts; and that the matter in dispute would be the sufficiency and fairness of the portion of land that was being allocated to one or other of the two families, or, at a later date, the position or boundaries of the land that had been given to that family, or some other question arising concerning it. Otherwise his statement is incomprehensible. Construing it this way, however, it is simple enough. So long as the land of the larger group was still common to the whole group, there could be no right of definitive possession of any portion of it by any one of the sections of the group, so there would be no claim to possession by any one of them that could be made the subject of the dispute; nor indeed could any one section, or its head, have any power to give any portion of the common land to the king. But during the process of division, or afterwards, the section might have, or think it had, rights, which could be the subject of controversy; and if that section, or its head, on its behalf, gave the land it claimed, or that had been allotted to it, to the king, the section would lose it. We are not told what would be the object and possible ultimate consequences of the gift; but a conceivable explanation is that the land was given to the king as the head chief of all the groups<sup>1</sup>, so that he might act as an arbitrator, and re-allot it to one or other of the disputants, or deprive both of them of it, and allot it to some other related section of the group, or perhaps even keep it himself; though I hardly think this last alternative would have been in accord with Tahitian ideas, if the king could not confiscate the land of a family, even though its chief were guilty of treason.

<sup>1</sup> This does not mean of all Tahiti. The "king" would be the head chief of all the Teva on the southern coast, the Pomare head chief in the north-west, the head chief of Ra'iatea in that island; and so on.



Another question raised is the effect upon the ownership of the land of a group of the deposition of its chief by a superior chief. According to Moerenhout, in the case of what was in effect deposition by a king of one of the higher chiefs, some other member of that chief's family succeeded, and the land did not pass to the king, but remained in the family, and this was so apparently as regards the chiefs generally, including the inferior chiefs; but later on he appears in effect to contradict himself in his reference to confiscation by a chief who had defeated a subordinate. Ellis says that the king could not appropriate the lands of the chief to himself, but could nominate his successor. According to de Bovis, family land could be alienated by war, by voluntary gifts, or by confiscation; according to Waldegrave, the king or any chief, could, on deposing an inferior person, either put others in his place or take it himself, which means, or includes, the ownership of the land. I think it probable that Moerenhout's first statement and that of Ellis point to what would be the true and consistent procedure. The rights of the head of a group over the land of the group were of a fiduciary character on behalf of the group; and it seems improbable that he would be justified in taking to himself the land of a sub-group whose head he had deposed. The natural course would be for the land to remain in the possession of the sub-group, and become vested in some other qualified person who would become its head in the place of him who had been deposed. The persons to elect the successor would presumably be those on whom the duty of election generally rested; but it may well be that the head of the group might in any of the serious cases to which Ellis refers (including that of withholding supplies which would be a breach of duty and an act of insubordination) require that the successor should be approved by himself; he would wish to be assured that the successor would be a person who would not continue the acts of misbehaviour of his deposed predecessor. I should think, however, that the successor would have to be some qualified member of the sub-group.

How, then, are we to explain Moerenhout's later statement and that of Waldegrave as to the power of the chief of the group to take the land himself? It is possible that in some cases chiefs, and especially head chiefs or kings, had succeeded, by their personalities and other qualities, in securing to themselves powers of domination and seizure of land which were



not constitutionally correct; but in this they would find an obstacle which Moerenhout calls, in the case of a king, the jealousy of the superior chiefs. Another possibility is suggested by de Bovis's distinction between confiscation and war as possible causes of alienation. It may be that there has been some confusion between the disciplinary act of the head of a group, within the group, and the arbitrary proceedings of an outside conqueror, who would seize the land of his defeated enemy. Even in the latter case there is, I may say, evidence of a practice in parts of Polynesia for the conqueror to fortify his right, or that of his descendants, to the land he had seized, by suitable matrimonial alliances with the defeated enemy; but this is a subject which I cannot discuss in this book. I think the king was not, strictly speaking, entitled to dispossess a family whose head chief he had deposed.

I will now pass to some general evidence. Ellis says that the *ra'atira* held their land, not from the gift of the king, but from hereditary ancestors. Speaking of the higher class of *ra'atira*, who possessed large tracts of land in one place, or a number of smaller sections in different parts, he says that part of this land was cultivated by those who lived in a state of dependence upon the *ra'atira*, and part by those petty *ra'atira* who occupied their plantations on condition of rendering military service to the proprietors, and a portion of the produce<sup>1</sup>. He says there were certain districts which constituted the patrimony of the royal family. Other districts were regarded as belonging to their respective occupants or proprietors, who were generally *ra'atira*, whose interest in the soil was distinct from that of the king, and who inherited the land from their ancestors<sup>2</sup>. Every portion of land had its owner. The produce which the king received from his hereditary estates was seldom sufficient for the maintenance of his household, and the deficiency was supplied from the different districts of the island<sup>3</sup>. Every chief was sovereign of his own district, though all acknowledged the supremacy of the king<sup>4</sup>. J. R. Forster says that even the *manahune* had land<sup>5</sup>. The Duff missionaries refer to chiefs having lands in many districts which they could not occupy themselves, and committed to the care of superintendents, called *medua* [the Samoan *matua*, an elder] or gave them to their *tayo*, who enjoyed all the usufructs without being

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> Forster, *Obs.* p. 356.



called to any account, and shared them with the chiefs when they came to reside there themselves<sup>1</sup>. They also give an account of a ceremony by which Pomare "ceded," as it was thought, the district of Matavai to Captain Wilson and his people, at which it was stated that the latter might take what houses, trees, fruits, pigs, etc., they thought proper. The district ceded belonged to another chief, called by Pomare "a good old man," and the English were asked to let him live near them<sup>2</sup>. An interesting light is thrown upon this transaction by a letter from one of the missionaries at Matavai to the directors of the mission in England written in 1804. There was a proposal to enlarge the number of missionaries in Tahiti and for this purpose to purchase more land, and the following is an extract from the letter:

In order to prevent mistake, we have to inform the Directors, that, if it should be their intention to settle a larger body on Taheite, the district of Matavai, which they have hitherto supposed to be purchased of Pomarre by Captain Wilson, the inhabitants do not consider as belonging to us, nor any part of it, except the small sandy spot we occupy with our dwellings and gardens: and even as to that, there are persons who claim the ground as theirs, and have, more than once, mentioned it to us. It is true, when the Royal Admiral arrived, and Pomarre was reminded of what had taken place between him and Captain James Wilson concerning the district, he asked, if we wished that the people should go out of it. From what we have seen and heard, we are certain if any of the natives were removed from their lands to make room for us, it would occasion a great deal of murmuring, if not a war. So that to us it appears that we must purchase all the ground we wish to occupy, not only of the chief, but of those also who claim it as their hereditary or possessive right<sup>3</sup>.

Tyerman and Bennet say that in the island of Huahine the *ra'atira* were possessors of landed estates *in capite*<sup>4</sup>. De Bovis says that the *manahune* lived on the land of the *ari'i* and *ra'atira*. He built a house in the place assigned to him, and, with a few exceptions, enjoyed the fruit of his labour, and was so rarely dispossessed, if not through the fate of war, that he habitually transmitted his inheritance to his children and grandchildren, with the sole restriction that he was only the usufructuary of it; but this usufruct never ended in the family. The bondage was very gentle, consisting merely of certain gifts which every inferior made to his superior or host, without troubling very much about the rights of rent charge<sup>5</sup>. Davies,

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. III, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> De Bovis, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 76 sq., 73.

<sup>5</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 208.



in his dictionary, gives the word *haumaraatera* as meaning the state of a people living as tenants or tributaries.

Apparently the people did not recognize any custom of "selling" land. De Bovis says they were not in the habit of changing or selling properties. Thus Europeans, "even in our times," found it very difficult to secure territorial acquisitions<sup>1</sup>. According to Bennett, the Society Islanders had strong prejudices against selling any portions of their lands, and said they had no precedent for such a practice, and did not want to begin. Therefore no instance had occurred of foreigners getting land on terms other than that of a long lease or a grant which could at any time be retracted<sup>2</sup>. So also Dewar says it was by no means easy for any Frenchman to purchase property in Tahiti, for the natives were extremely averse to selling real estate<sup>3</sup>.

Cook says the boundaries between districts were generally rivulets or low hills<sup>4</sup>; but he refers to a case in which it was a tree with two bundles of dry leaves suspended from it<sup>5</sup>. He tells us that the boundaries of private properties were marked by large stones which had remained from one generation to another; and the removal of any of these would cause fighting<sup>6</sup>. The *Duff* missionaries say that property was marked by landmarks, these having been set up by the owners' ancestors. A father would point them out to his son, and should a dispute arise, through their decay or removal, multitudes knew where they had stood. So the matter was generally easily settled<sup>7</sup>. According to Ellis, the divisions of land were accurately marked by natural boundaries, such as a ridge of mountains, or the course of a river, or by artificial means. Frequently a carved image or *tii* [the images commonly found in the *marae*] denoted the extent of their different possessions; and Ellis suggests as a possibility that the *tii* were designed to intimate that the spirits they represented guarded the borders of their property<sup>8</sup>. De Bovis thinks that these *tii* gods were similar to the boundary gods of the Romans, representing deities or tutelar genies whose functions were the same<sup>9</sup>. One of the Spanish voyagers says the land adjoining the sea-shore was rocky, and there was not much friable soil; so the people had to pick out the lumps of stone, and with these they banked up plots of earth on the surface of the ground, two feet or more in height, where they

<sup>1</sup> De Bovis, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Bennett, vol. I, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Dewar, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> Cook, vol. VI, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 157.

<sup>7</sup> Wilson, pp. 325 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 116.

<sup>9</sup> De Bovis, p. 266. I hope to discuss these *tii*, at a future date.



made their nurseries and seed beds. They dug drains along the borders of these, which, besides serving to carry off the surplus rainfall, also did duty as boundaries between the holdings of different persons<sup>1</sup>. I have already referred to the tradition of the origin of Tahiti, according to which the island was supposed to have been a part, broken off from the island of Ra'iatea, and the chiefs divided the lands among themselves, erecting *marae* to prove their titles, and the boundaries of their districts were well defined<sup>2</sup>.

According to de Bovis, the sea, like the land, was divided into properties. The chiefs generally possessed the reefs, which were the best fishing grounds, and the most frequented passages. Sometimes they interdicted the use of them to all those who were not of their own family, but more often they confined themselves to collecting a rent<sup>3</sup>. Just as the coral banks, and generally all the fisheries situate in the reefs, were special properties, just as were all parts of the land, so also the sea outside belonged to such and such an island, or to such and such a district, from one island up to another. For example, the island of Moorea [Eimeo] possessed very little sea beyond its reefs, whilst Huahine had more than any other, since the whole space separating it from Moorea was supposed to belong to it. The island of Borabora possessed perhaps a greater extent in the west. These possessions had names and boundaries, which they never failed to mention at the consecration of kings and at other ceremonies of this kind<sup>4</sup>. So also, we are told of a lake in the island of Huahine which was divided among several chiefs who owned the adjoining districts, and every superficial inch of which was claimed by one or another great man, each of whom maintained his right as staunchly as game preserves are held in England<sup>5</sup>.

Society Island customs offer, according to Ellis, an example of ownership of trees distinct from that of the land on which they grew. He says that, not only had every portion of land its respective owner, but that even the distinct trees on the land sometimes had different proprietors, and a tree and the land on which it grew might have different owners<sup>6</sup>. Again, he says that formerly every breadfruit and coconut tree had its owner; and a single tree, it was stated, sometimes had two

<sup>1</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> De Bovis, pp. 247 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Tyerman, vol. I, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> Teuira Henry, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 291 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 116.



proprietors. Subsequently, however, extensive clusters or groves of trees were to be met with, having no other owner than the chief of the district in which they grew. It was formerly their practice to gather the fruit of these, in its season, without asking the consent of any one. The proprietor of the land could appropriate to his own use any number of trees by affixing such marks [taboo signs] as were indications that they were prohibited; but later, as the population increased, the people became more careful of their trees, and the practice of gathering promiscuously the fruit from those trees not enclosed, appeared generally undesirable<sup>1</sup>.

Ellis's first statement as to ownership of trees refers, apparently, to the system that prevailed in his time. All that follows relates to chronological changes of system which, he believes, had occurred previously. I propose, for the purpose of considering this tree question, to disregard for the moment Ellis's statement that individual ownership of all breadfruit and coconut trees preceded ownership of clusters or groves of trees by the district chiefs. We thus commence with the reference to the extensive clusters or groves of trees whose fruits had formerly been gathered by, I presume, the people at their free will. Afterwards, apparently, a number of these groves had passed into the ownership of chiefs of districts. The chief had, as such, prior rights to their fruits; but, subject to these rights, the fruit was, as I understand the matter, free to all the people of the group. I think that the stage of evolution to which Ellis refers next relates, not to these chiefs' groves, but to the fruit-trees generally, and that Ellis has perhaps confused cause and effect, another explanation being that with the growth of the idea of personal ownership of both land and trees, there developed the recognition that a man was entitled to the fruit of the trees on his land or which he had planted or tended, and this being so, each tree-owner would give to his own trees an amount of care which had not been devoted previously by the community to their common property. Then, going back to the excluded evidence, I suggest that the recognition of separate ownership of all the trees, to which Ellis refers, would in some form or other, probably not so extensive as Ellis indicates, more probably, *so far as the evidence takes us at present*, be a later, and not an earlier development, from an original system of communal ownership; but I shall refer again to this matter.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 201.



This construction of the evidence *up to this point*, if correct, again disregarding this doubtful question, points perhaps to the following chronological changes of system. (1) Common ownership by the members of a social group of the trees growing on its land. (2) The development of the right of the chief to appropriate for his own use certain groves of trees, though he might, perhaps, only taboo some of the trees, and allow others to take the fruit of the rest. (3) The development of a system of separate ownership of trees by the persons who had planted or tended them, or perhaps of plots of land which these persons then began to cultivate, but had not enclosed, or perhaps both of these systems. This, however, cannot be regarded as a satisfactory summary of a process of evolution.

I have been assuming that the idea of separate ownership of trees would, as I imagine that of yearly crops to have been, be based on, or associated with, the fact that they were to a greater or less degree the product of a man's personal labour and care; though in the case of trees the ownership would be more permanent. There is, however, another possible source of the conception. There was a practice, in parts of Polynesia, of planting a tree on the birth of a child, the child and the tree being afterwards more or less associated, or the tree being intended to provide future food supply to the child. This practice is reported from Fiji<sup>1</sup>, the Marquesas<sup>2</sup>, New Zealand<sup>3</sup>, the New Hebridean island of Futuna<sup>4</sup>, and perhaps Tonga<sup>5</sup>.

The question still remains, how came it that the tree owned by one person might be on the land of another. It might, I imagine, be so sometimes in the case of these children's trees. There was also, in the island of Niue, a custom of giving to a stranger on his first visit, and planting, coconut trees, the fruit of which could be used by him on subsequent visits<sup>6</sup>; and in Penrhyn Island we hear of living, fruiting, coconut trees being given to a white stranger for his own use during his visit<sup>7</sup>. These visitors would, presumably, not be the owners of the land upon which the trees stood; and if there were any more general custom for a person to present a tree, growing on his own land, to another person, not necessarily a stranger, but perhaps a relative or friend, this might be a fruitful source of

<sup>1</sup> Rougier, *Anthrop.* vol. II, p. 996.

<sup>2</sup> Langsdorff, vol. I, p. 181. Bennett, vol. I, p. 344 *note*, and other writers.

<sup>3</sup> Gerland, vol. VI, p. 132. Shand, *J.P.S.* vol. VI, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Gunn, p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> Père A. C., p. ix.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> Lamont, p. 247.



separate ownership. So also might be the giving by one man to another of permission to plant a tree on his land, as was done in parts of Melanesia, and in Fiji<sup>1</sup>. The underlying idea would probably be that the tree, or perhaps its fruit, was not recognized as being part of the land, and so did not pass to the inheritor of the latter, but remained the subject of separate ownership<sup>2</sup>.

Melanesia, however, offers a possible explanation of a more fundamental character. Codrington says that property, whether in the villages or in the gardens, did not lie in large divisions, corresponding to the divisions of the people for marriage purposes into two or more kins or clans; they were all intermixed. It is probable that in the original formation of each settlement the several divisions of the people had worked together to make their gardens. As it was [in his time], families had formed themselves within the divisions, the land was held by families, sons worked in the gardens of their fathers who were not their kin; there could not be a family in which at least two kindreds had not a share. The character of property in land reclaimed from the bush asserted itself widely in the different islands, the effect produced being the introducing or strengthening of the tendency toward the succession of the son to his father's property, in place of the right of succession through the mother<sup>3</sup>. Members of the different clans dwelt intermixed in the village, and had their gardens intermixed. The garden property was never absolutely in the individual, but was in the clan, being looked upon as having been cleared originally by the clan; but portions were occupied in hereditary succession by families within the clan by an original agreement which had come to be a right. These ancient family lands passed of right to members of the same clan, ordinarily the sister's children. In the neighbourhood of a prosperous village a man, and his sons working with him, would often clear a piece of bush land, and make it into garden. This then passed to his sons without question, being held to be his own, and so long as it was clearly remembered how the land had been acquired, it passed from father to son; but after a time the character of the property might be forgotten, and the nephews of a deceased proprietor would claim it from his sons, and be supported by their clan, and thus serious quarrels arose<sup>4</sup>. If a man planted a coconut tree, an areca palm, or

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 61 note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 62.



some other useful tree on a friend's ground, the tree went to the planter's son, and if the land-owner continued friendly, it would pass on without dispute. A man could also plant in his own garden lands fruit-trees expressly declared to be the property of his sons; and at his death the ground would pass to his nephews, his own kin, but his sons would own the trees<sup>1</sup>.

I have only, in quoting Codrington, selected such passages as were necessary to make clear their combined effect, as bearing upon the Polynesian problem which we are considering. Broadly speaking, the position which he discusses seems to be as follows. He is dealing with conditions where ownership of land was, or had been, common to the social group, and where descent, and consequently succession, with its accompanying inheritance to land, were primarily matrilineal. There was, in spite of communal ownership of the land of the group, a recognition of some right to possession and use by a man of the products of his own labour. The old garden land was thus the property of the group whose joint ancestors had cleared it originally for cultivation long ago though rights of occupation of parts of it by families had developed; but if a man cleared for himself fresh bush-land and cultivated it, it was regarded as his. The parents of any one family would belong to different groups. On the death of the father his share in the garden land of the group passed to the people entitled to inherit under clan law with matrilineal descent and inheritance, and these were generally his sister's children. If, however, he had himself made gardens by clearing and cultivating bush-land, it would be regarded as his own, and would pass to his children, though even this right might be lost in course of time if the reason for it became forgotten, and the land might be claimed by the children of his sister. Then, if a man planted a valuable tree on his friend's ground, his son had some sort of right to it on his death; and again—and this is the point to which I draw special attention—even if he planted it on his own plot, forming part of the old group land, if he declared that it was the property of his sons, it went on his death to them, whilst the land went to the children of his sister.

I point out that in Polynesia, in relatively recent times, matrilineal descent was still recognized to a certain degree in some islands, whilst traces of it are found in others, but that

<sup>1</sup> Codrington, pp. 62 *sq.* As to the whole subject involved in my quotations from Codrington, cf. Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. 1, pp. 55-9.



the rights of the father had developed largely; that there seems still to have been some system of exogamy in a modified form; that a considerable amount of intermixture between social groups, through intermarriages and other causes, had taken place; that what appears to have been an original system of common group ownership of land had been modified by a recognition, extensively developed, of separate ownership by sub-groups and individuals; and that there seems to have been in some cases a connection between bestowal of labour on the land and a right to separate ownership. Thus the fundamental principles of the social systems of Polynesia were apparently the product and evolutionary development of more archaic systems, similar to those of Melanesia, as disclosed by Codrington; and I suggest that a possible explanation of the ownership in Polynesia by one man of trees on the land of another may in some cases have been that the title of the latter to the land had arisen through some past devolution under a system of matrilineal descent, succession, and inheritance, whilst the rights of the former to the trees had come down to him from a male ancestor who had perhaps cleared bush-land, and had planted or cultivated the trees, and had so been regarded as their personal owner, and having the right to transmit them to his descendants.

Looking again at the evidence of separate ownership of trees in the Society Islands, and my comments on it, in the light of this Melanesian material, I may point out that if this distinction between the inheritors of a man's share in the land of a group under a system of matrilineal descent and inheritance, and the inheritors of a man who was entitled to the produce of his own labour, including trees planted by him, is to be regarded as a probable origin of some of the ownership in the Society Islands, of trees by persons other than the owners of the land, then it may well be that in the distant past this separation of ownership would be spread widely. In that case Ellis's statement that formerly every breadfruit and coconut tree had its owner may, though probably overstated, be more correct than the alternative suggestion, which I made, on the basis of the actual Society Island evidence, that this would be a relatively recent development; and it may be that, with the dying out of matrilineal rights, the origin of this right to separate ownership of trees had been forgotten, the trees affected by it had passed to the ancestral owners of the land, and this exten-



sive separate ownership had dwindled down to the occasional separate ownership, of more modern origin, that appears to have prevailed in Ellis's time.

I will now answer, so far as may be possible, my questions, as affecting the Society Islands, but we must bear in mind that the evidence, or the bulk of it, has been collected in Tahiti.

(1) I again start with the fact that the conception prevailed that ownership of the land of a group was vested in its head. It is clear from the evidence generally, including that as to boundaries, that the idea of separate ownership, or right to occupy, was widely recognized both on land and in the fishing waters; but there are one or two matters to which I must draw attention. I refer to de Bovis's statements that land was indivisible amongst the members of the same family, and that it *generally* [my italics] remained undivided in the same family, which suggests that in some cases the land had been divided among its members, whilst in others this had not been done. We cannot assume that he always uses the term "family" with exactly the same meaning; but the second quoted statement must be read in conjunction with what he tells us about the cross-grained relation, which, I have suggested, indicates that he there uses the word to mean something more than a domestic household. I also refer to what he tells us about the cross-grained relation and the litigious *ra'atira* and to my discussion of it, drawing attention to my belief that the *ra'atira* represented two branches of a family, and to his statement that litigation could hardly happen except *on the division* [my italics] or definitive possession of lands. The words "on the division" suggest that the process of dividing out what had been common land was still continuing; and if my interpretation of his statements is correct, they again indicate that the land of a group sometimes remained undivided as the property of all its members, and in some cases the process of division was still continuing. I admit that we must not be too ready to draw conclusions from what may be more or less chance and unconsidered terms and phrases of writers; but these do in fact sometimes disclose what is in or behind their minds. Whatever may be the origin or origins of ownership by one man of trees on the land of another, the idea of personal rights of ownership would be accentuated by the recognition that a man might own a tree that grew on some other person's land.

(2) I draw attention to what has already appeared in the



discussion of social grouping in the Society Islands, including the association of the *marae* with the ancestral titles of, and relationship between, the chiefs. As regards the middle classes, I quote Ellis's statement that the *ra'atira* held their land, not from the gift of the king, but from hereditary ancestors. I think the system of allotment of the land almost must have been one of group division and subdivision, as in Samoa; but there is no evidence as to the person or persons who made the allotments.

(3) As regards the permanence of these allotments the evidence appearing in the consideration of political areas and systems and of social grouping indicates, I think, that so far as the big leading groups were concerned, the tenure of their respective districts had continued for a long time past. Turning then to the general effect of the further evidence which we are now considering, I think some permanence of tenure is indicated by the apparent inability of a king to seize the land of a group whose chief was deposed by him for some high offence, and the right for some other member of the group to succeed the deposed chief. References to heredity in land and its remaining in the same family point in the same direction, as also do the references to the recognition of decayed boundary walls, and boundaries said to have been set up by the owners' ancestors, or to have remained from one generation to another.

(4) There is no evidence touching the power of the head of a social group to alienate land of the group, except the case in which Pomare apparently ceded to the English the district of one of his chiefs; but there is no reason for assuming that the chief had not consented, and as Pomare called him a good old man, we may almost assume that he had done so. The chief himself would hold his land as head of a group; but apparently neither Pomare nor this chief obtained the requisite assent from a number of people living there, and the report of the missionary as to questions raised afterwards as to the validity of the gift, and the difficulty in getting more land, opens out a wide vista of impediments to alienation by the head of a group.

(5) and (6) As regards the powers of groups of people and individuals to alienate their land, and the mode of alienation, we have the evidence of the absence of any practice of selling; also Bennett's reference to a long lease or a grant which could at any time be retracted, as the only terms on which foreigners could get land; also Ellis's reference to occupation of land on



condition of rendering military service, and a portion of the produce to the proprietors; also de Bovis's statement that land might be alienated by war, voluntary gifts, or confiscation, and his reference to the collection by chiefs of "rent" for fishing grounds; also the practice, reported by the *Duff* missionaries, of chiefs to commit land which they did not occupy to the care of "superintendents," or to give it to their friends without recompense beyond the sharing of the produce when they went there; also the reference to the gift by Pomare to the English of the district of one of his chiefs; also the Tahitian term for people living as tenants or tributaries. Alienation by war, that is, the seizure of the land by a victorious foe, does not come within the scope of this book, and I have already discussed the question of confiscation. Occupation by a superintendent may have been a matter of employing a local manager, and not of alienation. This leaves some statements as to lettings and gifts, and concerning these, we can only say that they might apparently be revocable or more or less permanent, though probably any such permanence would not be actually guaranteed when the letting was arranged or the gift was made.

### HERVEY ISLANDS

Concerning the question of general communism, Moss says that in Rarotonga the constitutional unit was the family, and the family system gave a refuge to all and prevented pauperism; but this family communism also killed energy and enterprise, and while it lasted no material progress could be expected<sup>1</sup>. Community of property was the general rule, though a member might cultivate for himself any particular portion, and keep the produce to his own use, *if he could* [my italics]<sup>2</sup>. According to Gill, it was usual in the Hervey Islands, on meeting another, to share whatever food might be in the hand or basket<sup>3</sup>.

I propose to give the evidence as to the other subjects included in this enquiry without any attempt at classification and arrangement.

According to Gill, land was [in Mangaia or the Hervey Islands generally?] the property of the tribe, and might on no account be alienated. An adopted son only possessed land so long as he went with the clan, obeyed the commands of his elders, and fought, if need be, against his nearest of kin for the tribe into which he had been adopted. In no case might a

<sup>1</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 19.



woman take any portion of the ancestral lands of her own tribe into another clan<sup>1</sup>. Gill uses the term "tribe" to designate the main groups, of different origin, occupying the island of Mangaia, to which I have referred in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems"; and he seems here, as elsewhere, to use the term "clan" as synonymous with "tribe." The soil was the sole property of the high chiefs (*ariki*) and the under-chiefs, and these distributed the land in accordance with their own wishes<sup>2</sup>. In Mangaia land could be acquired as a reward for securing victims for human sacrifice, on the beating of the drum of peace at the conclusion of fighting for supremacy between the groups of people inhabiting the island. Gill says that Rangi and Mautara, the early kings, were content with a single victim selected on the field of battle, but that in the time of Morokore dozens were offered, and he then tells us that at last victim-hunting degenerated into a mere land speculation, and human life seemed to be without value<sup>3</sup>. He gives, as an example of this practice, the case of the inauguration—this time peacefully and without fighting<sup>4</sup>—of Pangemiro [of the Ngariki tribe] as the temporal king of Mangaia. A victim had been selected, but could not be found, so his nephew, in order to secure the benefit of betraying him, showed the seekers where he was, and for this was given a piece of Pangemiro's land<sup>5</sup>. Another example is provided by the finding of a victim on the inauguration of Kirikovi [of the Ngariki tribe]; in this case the victim was lured out of his hiding place by his cousin, for which the latter was given some valuable land<sup>6</sup>. In another case a defeated chief killed a man in the hope that he would be reinstated in the possession of his forfeited lands<sup>7</sup>. Gill gives other examples of the giving of land as a reward for securing victims<sup>8</sup>. After the sacrifice of the victim but before the beating of the drum of peace the sacred king cut off the victim's ears and divided them into as many small portions as might serve to represent the various minor districts of the island; and the secular king, selected by the leading men of the winning tribe, having been duly appointed, the names of all the district chiefs and land-owners were proclaimed in the prescribed order, and each received from the hand of the sacred king his portion, wrapped up in a *ti* leaf. The appointed

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Gill, *L.S.J.* p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *Myths*, pp. 302 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> Gill, *L.S.J.* p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 244.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 305 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Gill, *Jottings*, pp. 227, 233.



secular king received no portion in that capacity, but he had one in his inferior capacity of district chief [that is, as representing his ownership of his own family district], and his name was the first to be called. These bits of human ears were deposited in the different family *marae*, and constituted an investiture to all offices, and right to the possession of the soil<sup>1</sup>. Gill gives a chant sung on one of these occasions in which the slices of the victim's ears are said to announce all possessions<sup>2</sup>. It was neither necessary nor usual in Mangaia to give a serf notice to quit. The presence of the owner of the land on the serf's plantation was a sure sign that he meant to eject him; and this was done by the owner sitting down on the ground near the threshold of the serf's hut, and producing fire with firesticks, or planting his spear in the serf's taro patch, or weeding its sloping sides, or by pegging into the ground a coconut frond, supposed to represent the owner. Apparently the tenant would sometimes dispute the proposed ejectment, and this was an insult which could only be adequately avenged by death<sup>3</sup>. I may say that Gill seems often to use the terms "serf" and "slave" to designate persons, not necessarily of low life, of a defeated clan, protected by their conquerors. I think this is the sense in which he uses the term "serf" here; in fact the statements follow matter in which the serf was clearly a member of a defeated tribe, living under the protection of a man of the victorious tribe. The idea of the "serf" disputing the ejectment also is hardly consistent with his being a low-birthed man. Gill, after narrating the legend as to questions that arose between Vatea and his wife Papa as to the respective rights of their two sons, the gods Tangaroa and Rongo, for supremacy in Mangaia, in which it was ultimately granted to the latter, says that Tangaroa therefore set out in search of some other land where he could reign alone, and finally settled down in Rarotonga and Aitutaki. It was then said that in winter fruit-trees disappeared, whereas taro, bananas, etc., were in season all the year round. The reason for this was that the former belonged to Tangaroa, who merely permitted his gifts to be seen and tasted here in the land of Rongo [Mangaia] on their way in winter to realms where he reigned undisturbed. Therefore these fruits were regarded not as private property, but as belonging to the inhabitants of the district in which they grew. Gill also tells us that in some of

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *Myths*, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 308 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 67.



the Hervey Islands the owner of the soil claimed the fruit of the chestnut tree, but that usually it was free to all, being rarely planted<sup>1</sup>; and that the banyan was valuable private property in Rarotonga, but free to all in Mangaia<sup>2</sup>.

William Gill, speaking of the Rarotongan king, Rongo-oe, to whom I have referred in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," whose conduct caused a rebellion that split the island into two hostile groups, says that all land, fruit, fish and property, and persons in the district were subjected to the cruel despotic will of this king, and so the petty chiefs revolted and drove him away<sup>3</sup>.

According to Moss, in Rarotonga, the authority of the head of the family over the lands and possessions was absolute, and carried with it as absolute a control over the whole of the members. Community of property was the family rule, though a member might cultivate for himself any particular portion, and keep the produce for his own use—if he could<sup>4</sup>. The land carried with it the obligation to support the family, and could not be diverted from that object. Contracts were unknown; and if land were given, a feast gave the stamp and due publicity<sup>5</sup>. Speaking of the *mataiapo* [the second class of chiefs, coming next after the *ariki*], he says their families had held the land from time immemorial, on conditions of public service. If a *mataiapo* was displaced a successor was appointed from the members of the family. The title and the tenure of the land were perpetual, and could not be disturbed or interrupted<sup>6</sup>. I may point out, as to this, that the land of a *mataiapo* and the members of his social group would form part of the dominions of his suzerain *ariki*, but that the latter evidently could not deprive the group of it; it had rights of tenure as between itself and him. Also, as between the head of a group, and its other members, though the land of the group was his by virtue of his headship, he only held it on behalf of the group. Moss is speaking of relatively recent times when he says that very little rural land had been alienated by lease for a definite term and at a fixed rent. That held by foreign residents carried with it obligations, the chief of which was that of being overrun by the numerous relations of the native wife, who treated the Europeans as quite one of the family,

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *Jottings*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> W. Gill, *Gems*, vol. II, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24.



and were perfectly ready to be treated by them in the same way<sup>1</sup>. After referring to the setting apart in the townships of a considerable area in each settlement and giving it in trust for the mission, these areas being used free of charge by the missionaries, who built their houses on them, and by their families, for half a century, he refers to a change of plan which had to be effected, and says that pressure was then brought to bear upon the mission by the great chiefs who had originally given the land in trust; and that, after considerable resistance, the pressure was successful, and the chiefs resumed possession of a considerable portion of the land, and afterwards let it to traders, from whom they then drew rents<sup>2</sup>. From the history of the doings of Tangiia and Karika, appearing in one of the genealogies, supplied by Nicholas, the land seems originally to have been divided among themselves and a number of minor chiefs; and according to the editor's note, the latter held their land independently<sup>3</sup>. Wragge was told that in Rarotonga land could be leased, but not sold. This, I may say, refers to dealings with white men; but it is in accord with what we have found elsewhere, and probably points to native underlying ideas as to alienation. He was also told that natural food supplies (by which is meant, I suppose, things that grew wild) belonged to the people, and the taking of such was not an offence<sup>4</sup>. Baessler, after telling us that land in Rarotonga occupied by white men was only leased to them, and could on no account be purchased, refers to the case of the giving by the great Makea head chief of a plot of land to the English, on which was erected a fine house for their Resident, and tells us that as it turned out that some of the land given belonged, not to Makea, but to one of the other natives [who would be one of his subjects], and this person refused to part with it without compensation, this portion of the land had to be given back again<sup>5</sup>.

I have referred in a previous chapter to the quarrel between Tangiia and his brother Tutapu. Large says that the origin of their quarrel, which caused Tangiia to flee to Rarotonga, was that Tutapu had eaten the fruit of the *atavakuru* (branch of breadfruit) of their sister<sup>6</sup>; and Teaia explains that it was the custom in Rarotonga that in any land dispute, should the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas, *J.P.S.* vol. I, pp. 26 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Baessler, *N.S.B.* pp. 247 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Wragge, p. 146.

<sup>6</sup> Large, *J.P.S.* vol. II, pp. 276 sq.



*atavakuru* be taken, the land was lost for ever<sup>1</sup>. This seems an extraordinarily easy way of securing another person's land, and I have found no reference to any similar custom in any other part of Polynesia.

This somewhat heterogeneous material enables us to suggest answers, or partial answers to, or throws possible light upon the answers to be given to my questions.

(1) I commence the consideration of the first question by referring to the evidence of the ownership of the land of a group by its chief or other head of the group, and Moss's statement that land could not be diverted from the object of supporting the family. The idea of ownership by the group is, I think, involved in the custom under which an adopted son who did not perform his duties as a member of a group lost his land, and in the inability of a woman to take any part of her land to another group, the statement concerning this, referring, I think, to her marriage, and not to a matter of ordinary alienation. There are indications of separate ownership by sub-groups, and perhaps by persons, and Moss's statement that community of property was the family rule, though a member might cultivate for himself any particular portion of the common land of the family and keep the produce for his own use—if he could—shows the partial recognition of individual ownership by a man of the fruits of his own labour. So again, the statement that *natural* food supplies belonged to the people, and that taking of them was not an offence, suggests the assumption that cultivated supplies were recognized more or less as private property. The recognition of the chestnut tree, as being usually free to all, even, apparently, if growing on a person's land, *being rarely planted*, points in the same direction, but I cannot explain why the banyan tree should be private property in Rarotonga, and free to all in Mangaia. The statement that, because fruit-trees were the property of Tangaroa, they were in Mangaia the common property of the district, is difficult to interpret; it is just possible that there was an idea that no member of the group could appropriate to himself alone the sacred property of the god, and if so, perhaps the discrepancy in customs as to the banyan tree was due to some similar divine association of this tree with a god in one place, whereas in the other there was not such an association.

<sup>1</sup> Large, *J.P.S.* vol. II, p. 278 note 5.



(2) I refer to the statements as to the control of the head of a family over its land, and that the soil was the property of the high chiefs (*ariki*), and the under-chiefs, and that these distributed the land in accordance with their own wishes. Then, turning to the traditions, we have those relating to the original division of the land. According to one of Nicholas's versions of the Karika-Tangiia tradition of Rarotonga, Karika divided the land between Makea (his son), Tangiia, and the *mataiapo* or minor chiefs; whilst, according to another, this was done apparently by Tangiia. So also in Aitutaki we have the traditions that Ru appointed the lords of the island; that subsequently Te-erui divided a quantity of the land between the Ru women, reserving for himself two districts, and that the districts allotted to the women belong to their descendants to the present day; that afterwards Maro-una, according to one of the versions, divided the island among his warriors in districts by divisional boundaries, which remain to this day. These stories, whether true or otherwise, probably point to Hervey Island practices.

(3) The history of Rarotonga makes it pretty clear, I think, that the three great groups of people had occupied their respective lands for a long time back; and I refer to Moss's statements that in Rarotonga the families of the *mataiapo* [chiefs holding under the great *ariki*] had held their lands from time immemorial, and that if one of them was displaced a successor was appointed from the members of his own family, and that the title and tenure of the land was perpetual and could not be disturbed or interrupted. So also, as regards Mangaia, the ceremony of division of the ears of the victim among the chiefs and land-owners, and the depositing by them of their respective portions in their *marae* as title-deeds to their lands points in the same direction; and the fact that the portion given to the selected secular king was given to him, not in his capacity of king, but merely as representing his ownership of his own district, is significant. Then again, we have the statements in the Aitutaki traditions of the permanent character of the traditional boundaries of the lands then divided, and which, comparing the versions of the stories, suggest that the districts divided out may all have been the original districts said to have been allotted to the Ru women. I cannot explain the possible bearing on this question of the loss of land by the eating of a portion of breadfruit.



(4) We have no definite information enabling us to answer this question, though the statement that land could not be diverted by the head of the family from its purpose of supporting the family bears perhaps on the matter. We have, however, the specific case of the Makea king of Rarotonga, part of whose gift to the English had to be revoked because it turned out that this portion of the land given belonged to one of his subjects who refused to part with it. We have seen, as regards gifts of land by chiefs to victim hunters, that in the case of Pangemiro it was a part of his own land that was given, and this may have been so in the other cases also; but even then we do not know whether the donors were absolute personal owners of the land given, or if not, whether they had the necessary consents. We must not assume that Moss's reference to the absolute authority of the head of a family over its own land included an unfettered right to alienate.

(5) and (6) As regards the question of alienation generally, I refer to Wragge's statement that in Rarotonga land could be leased, but not sold to white men, to Gill's statement that in Mangaia land could not be alienated, and to Baessler's reference to the inability of white men in Rarotonga to secure purchases, though they could get leases. I think, as regards the dealings with white men of which Wragge and Baessler speak, that we may believe that the inability to sell was a native custom, and the ability to lease was a native custom of granting only possession for the time being, and that, if we are to assume that what is called a lease was for a defined term at a fixed rent we must regard this feature of the transaction as a recent development, acquired from the white people. We perhaps see an example of the confusion as to the mode of alienation in the episode of the successful pressure put by the chiefs upon the missionaries to return the land that had been given to them. We cannot say whether, and to what extent, grants of the use of land were, according to native ideas, made in consideration of some return by the tenant, and might become more or less permanent, though, as regards the former point, the victim-hunters got their land as a reward for services rendered. The purely terminable character of the permission to occupy given to serfs must not be assumed to apply to all cases; but I think that in point of fact all grants would probably be nominally terminable, even though they may often have been allowed to continue for some time.



## MARQUESAS

There is evidence from the Marquesas of communism in things other than land. It is said that the life of the people seemed to be as near an approach to communism as it was possible to conceive, the communistic principle being apparently carried into their marriage customs. If one of them was smoking you only had to wait for a few minutes to see the pipe or cigarette passed round the whole group<sup>1</sup>. Porter says that when the various tribes came to make peace with him, he gave the principal person a harpoon, and threw iron hoops to the rest. All seemed perfectly satisfied that they would get their portion, and the only contest among them was, who should get the most at the first outset, so that they might afterwards have the pleasure of dividing it among the rest. Sometimes one man would seize three hoops; but he would soon be encompassed by numbers, who would each mark, with slips of bark, six or eight inches of a hoop, which he would claim as his own. They would then all retire in a friendly manner, when the hoops would be broken to pieces, and each man receive his own<sup>2</sup>. Jardin says there were no poor people, properly speaking, among the Marquesans; all the inhabitants had a share in the fruits which were so abundant there<sup>3</sup>.

I will now refer to the evidence of writers, as I did in the case of the Hervey Islands, *seriatim*, without chopping it up into subject matters, but leaving its consideration to be dealt with in answering the questions.

The *Duff* missionaries say that plantations were enclosed by square fences of stones, about six feet high, within which the owner's house stood<sup>4</sup>.

According to Stewart, all the land with its produce was hereditarily possessed by the higher orders, civil and religious—the chiefs, warriors, prophets, priests and their assistants; the boundaries of the respective divisions of each were accurately defined and well known<sup>5</sup>.

Jardin tells us of a chief who had large properties, but was, he says, far from making use of them to his own profit, or even drawing any advantage from them. He conceded them to other natives without any fixed revenue; only, if he needed some of the products of his lands—pigs, bananas or breadfruit—he asked for them and they were brought to him<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lambert, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Porter, vol. II, pp. 56 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Stewart, vol. I, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Jardin, p. 184.

<sup>6</sup> Jardin, p. 181.



Von Schleinitz was told that every piece of land and every fruit-tree had its owner, and went from father to sons<sup>1</sup>.

Des Vergnes tells us that it was very difficult to find out anything certain about property; as a matter of fact everyone was a proprietor, and nobody was so. A chief alone had the right to call himself the possessor of a valley which came to him from his ancestors, who acquired it as a result of conquest, or from being the first to occupy it; each native, however, having been settled at the beginning on the territory of a chief with his permission, this parcelling out had come to be considered as a donation made to the first warriors, a donation which had been transmitted from generation to generation. But when a native said "Such and such is mine," he meant "It is my ancestors *alone* who have been permitted by the chief to establish themselves there." If one assembled a tribe in order to learn exactly to whom such and such a whole valley belonged, the natives all agreed in giving the name of a chief who was the sole proprietor of it<sup>2</sup>. After discussing the idea of successive heritages from the first occupants, des Vergnes goes on to tell us that the property of the people, other than the chiefs, in the land was only relative. In buying bays or valleys, it was with the chiefs that the treaties were entered into, without troubling about the natives living on the soil. Care had always to be taken, however, to have a clause that the ancient inhabitants, holding their small parts, in which they had lived under the chief from father to son, should remain on the land where they had been accustomed to live. Des Vergnes discusses the necessity for this, arising from what would happen to the people who would not know where to go, and would be regarded with disfavour by the people of other districts to which they might try to migrate. He defines "property" as being the right to live on such or such a piece of land, and says that if a native wished to give one of his lands to another, he told him so in the presence of several witnesses, whereupon the property changed its master<sup>3</sup>. The necessity of fixing boundaries for the property of bays and valleys was so innate in the natives, that they divided the sea itself, and did not permit a tribe's coming to fish in waters which they themselves claimed to own; and disputes as to fishing rights had ended in war. Des Vergnes cautions us by saying that it must not be

<sup>1</sup> Von Schleinitz, *V.G.E.* vol. VI, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 717.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 717 sq.



concluded, from what had been said as to property being wholly in the hands of a single person, that he would have the right to take away from a native the enjoyment of the land on which he lived; the owner was under a moral obligation to let each be in the place he occupied, and never failed to do so; and it was on this account that the clause referred to above was requisite on a sale by a chief. A native could not sell the land on which he was settled, but he could let it<sup>1</sup>.

According to Tautain, boundaries were of two kinds. One of these was formed by walls of dry stones, two or three rows thick, with a height varying from 0 m. 90 cm. to 1 m. 50 cm. This was the only mode of enclosure found among the dwellings. The walls did not form an efficacious defence against man; only against animals. If I understand him correctly, boundaries of properties composed of stones more or less flat, of any shape and size, but most often of medium height, not touching, but not far apart from one another, were boundaries of properties, of which there was a network in the bush-land of the valleys. There was not a square yard in the Marquesas without its owner; but everyone did not own property; only the families of the chiefs and those of *akatia* [the equivalent of the *ra'atira* of Tahiti], and perhaps a third class, had really rights of property. A Marquesan would let a man or a family become established on his property, build there, live there, and gather harvests for generations; but there was no renting, no complete cession, and no prescription. The ownership of the plantations did not necessarily follow that of the land; they might belong to him who had made them, even if he were not the owner of the soil; and you might even sometimes see breadfruit trees belonging hereditarily to several families, each of which had its own large branch or branches. Tautain says that the readiness with which the Marquesan allowed his land to be used, the difficulty with which he ceded it, and the possibility of there being different proprietors for the soil and what it bore complicated matters greatly when our laws were applied. The masses did not own land, but lived on the lands of the chiefs and *akatia*<sup>2</sup>.

Melville says that he hardly ever saw a piece of work done in the Taipii valley which caused the sweat to stand on a single brow. Digging and delving for a livelihood was unknown. Nature had planted breadfruit and banana, and the people

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 719.

<sup>2</sup> Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, pp. 540 sq., 548.



collected them when ripe<sup>1</sup>. He cannot say whether the land was the joint property of the people, or whether it was parcelled out among a certain number of landed proprietors, who allowed everybody to squat and poach as he pleased<sup>2</sup>. He saw Kory-kory [the person who had been appointed by the king as his (Melville's) body-servant] armed with a long pole with which he knocked down the fruit from the topmost branches of the trees, and he saw an islander from a different part of the valley do the same. He often saw a score or two of young people making a merry foray on the breadfruit trees, and bearing off their fruit to different parts of the valley<sup>3</sup>.

I will now consider the answers to be given to my questions.

(1) Here again, we start with the idea that land belonged to the titled chief of the group; but, assuming that originally it had all been common property of the group, the evidence, including that of the boundary walls, shows that the recognition of separate ownership of a kind had developed extensively. If I understand Tautain rightly, the system of division in the land prevailed largely even as regards the bush-land, as well as what would probably be the old cultivated land; according to des Vergnes, it applied also to the sea, at all events as between the larger groups. Stewart's reference to possession by chiefs, warriors, prophets, priests, and their assistants presumably points to some process of division and subdivision; des Vergnes's reference to the holding by the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of their small parts of land, in which they lived under the chiefs, points in the same direction; so also does Tautain's reference to ownership, not only by chiefs, but by *akatia*, and perhaps by a third class, who would, I imagine, hold under the *akatia*. Here again, as in the Society Islands, we have evidence of separate ownership of trees. People might, according to Tautain, own plantations made by them, though these might be on other people's land; several families might have hereditary ownership of a breadfruit tree, and even that might be subdivided, each family having its own branch or branches of the tree; and von Schleinitz speaks of fruit-trees having their owners and passing from father to sons. It will be noticed that separate ownership of plantations was based on work done.

On the other hand, the continuing idea of ownership by the entire group is perhaps found in such statements as "It was

<sup>1</sup> Melville, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 224.



very difficult to find out anything certain about property: as a matter of fact, every one was a proprietor, and nobody was so" (des Vergnes); and "the property of the people, other than the chiefs, in the land was only relative" (des Vergnes). Then again, Melville's doubt as to common or separate ownership, and his description of the free way in which not only his native attendant, but a man from another part of the valley knocked down fruit from the trees are suggestive of at least some degree of common ownership; and his description of the forays made by groups of young people on the breadfruit trees points in the same direction; and the fact that these people went off with their booty to different parts of the valley, suggests, I think, that they would be members of a relatively large group, probably divided into sub-groups, and that the common ownership would prevail as between the members of the larger group.

The evidence does not enable us to draw any clear distinction between the ownership of garden or plantation land and that of the uncultivated bush. We have the references to plantations enclosed by stone fences, within which the owner's house stood (Wilson), and to the walled enclosures found among the dwellings and the boundary marks in the bush (Tautain); it seems evident that the people had their separate portions of cultivated land. We might gather from Melville that there was very little cultivation; but he was, I think, only a comparatively short time in Nukuhiva, and it is possible that he was not there during a period of seasonal activity, and so was misled. The foray on the breadfruit trees to which he refers may only have been directed against the wild breadfruits of the bush, in which case there is nothing in what he tells us that is inconsistent with the possibility that there was private ownership of cultivated plots, associated perhaps with common ownership of the bush, or the parts of it that had not been cleared and cultivated.

I suggest, as regards the common hereditary ownership by several families of the same tree, each family having its own branch or branches, that the tree had been the property of a common ancestor of these families, having been planted perhaps by himself, or perhaps by an ancestor from whom he had inherited it, and that at a later date it had, like land, been divided up among the various groups of his descendants. I may mention, as an example of the association of specific groups of people



with separate branches of a tree, the Mangaian belief that some of the souls of the dead, in their journey to *Avaiki* (the spirit land), on arriving at the western coast of the island, all climbed into a gigantic tree, which rose up from below, from which they dropped into *Avaiki*; the point of interest here is that each soul was "impelled to climb the particular branch reserved for his own tribe," the tree having as many branches as there were principal gods in Mangaia<sup>1</sup>.

(2) I think that the mode of division and subdivision within a group probably prevailed, and that it is in this light that we must interpret des Vergnes's reference to an original parcelling out by the chiefs among their warriors, after which the property had been transmitted from generation to generation, which means that it passed to their descendants, and I imagine that the shares of these respective owners would again be subdivided, and so on. This statement, it will be noticed, points to the chiefs as the persons who divided the land among their people. Des Vergnes is, of course, only speculating as to the past, but the general system to which he points would probably be in accord with native ideas.

(3) As regards the permanency of allotments, I draw attention to Stewart's reference to hereditary possession of the land by the various classes which he mentions, and the boundaries of their respective domains; to des Vergnes's statements that the land of a chief came from his ancestors, and as to the passing of the portions distributed by him among his warriors from generation to generation; to his references to the care taken in treaties, obviously entered into by white men with the chiefs, that the subjects of the latter should not be displaced, and to the moral obligation of an owner (by which he evidently means a chief or other head of a group) to let each of his subjects remain in possession; and to Tautain's reference to the difficulty in ceding land, owing to the possibility of its having different proprietors. We do not know to what extent this comparative permanency of tenure spread down to small sections of groups; but we have the references to the merely relative character of the property of the people, other than the chiefs, and the definition of property as the right to live on the land.

(4) The latter part of the evidence last referred to points also, I think, to the inability of a chief or head of a group, as such, to

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *Myths*, pp. 160 sq.



alienate land of the group; but we cannot say what he could or could not do with the consent of its members<sup>1</sup>.

(5) and (6) We have des Vergnes's statement that a Marquesan could not sell the land on which he was settled, though he could let it, and Tautain's statement that there could be no renting, complete cession, or prescription of it. Jardin tells us of a chief "conceding" some of his land to others, in return for which he was entitled to an undefined share of its produce. Des Vergnes, after defining property as being "the right to live" on a piece of land, refers to the case of a native "giving" some of his land to another, in which event the land changed its master. Tautain speaks of a custom for a person to let another become established on his property, and live there for generations, though there was no renting, complete cession or prescription. I think the answer to the question is that a man could allow to some other person the use of some of his own land, either as a present, or for an undefined consideration, and might in some cases let the latter and his family remain there indefinitely; but that there could be no permanent transfer.

#### PAUMOTU

Audran says, concerning common ownership of movable property in the Paumotu, that the people held their property on the communal system<sup>2</sup>. One of the French missionaries tells us that in Mangareva poor people and travellers were willingly admitted to table; the rich gave part of their abundance to their less fortunate relatives<sup>3</sup>. Elsewhere, however, the same missionary says the people were always quarrelling with each other; and he once saw a woman in a state of fury because one of her neighbours had, by mistake, cut a single breadfruit from her property<sup>4</sup>. This evidence points to an element of communism in certain food supplies and the reference to travellers does not, I think, justify a suggestion that it was merely a matter of hospitality, because I do not believe that a stranger would be admitted unless he was related, or had been accepted into the group.

D'Urville says that king Mapouteoa of Mangareva and his four uncles possessed all the land, and let it out at high rates,

<sup>1</sup> Compare as to this the Samoan idea that a sale by the chief only applied to his title, and would not affect possession by his people.

<sup>2</sup> Audran, *J.P.S.* vol. xxvii, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xiv, p. 340.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. x, p. 173.



fixed by the pleasure of the master, who often took from the people almost all the revenue<sup>1</sup>. Cuzent, however, in describing what occurred after this king's death, says that the islanders, who had arrived from all parts of the archipelago [meaning evidently Mangareva and the islets immediately adjoining—the Mangarevan cluster], murmured, accusing the family of the deceased of having usurped the throne and appropriated the lands of their ancestors, and reproached the missionaries for having lent their aid to this rape. They declared that Mapouteoa's son should not succeed him, and decided to retake by force the lands of which they had been defrauded, unless they were given back to them. The French missionaries, however, forced them to submit, saying that otherwise the French would come with guns<sup>2</sup>.

A comparison of these two statements is interesting. In the first we find an assertion of the autocratic powers over the land, of the king and his close relations, and in the absence of information to the contrary, we might have accepted it as evidence of the powers of Mangarevan kings; whilst in the second we are told that it was alleged by the people after his death that he was a usurper, and his right to appropriate the lands was disputed. I have tried, without success, to find out whether this king had in fact been a usurper; and as regards both the allegations as to this and the accusation of misappropriation of land, we do not know who made it—it may, for instance, have been made by one particular group of intriguing people. We have seen that exercise of excessive authority, greed and cruelty was a ground on which a Mangarevan king would be liable to deposition, and I think it extremely probable that, if king Mapouteoa had taken from his subjects the land which they had inherited from their ancestors, and used it in the way described by d'Urville, he had acted unconstitutionally, even if he was a legitimately appointed king.

According to one of the French missionaries, there was not in Mangareva an inch of land that did not belong to some one. The uncultivated mountains, and the rocks in the sea had their owners<sup>3</sup>. As regards fishing, each family in the Mangarevan cluster had its own small nets; but there were very large ones, which were generally the property of all the inhabitants of an

<sup>1</sup> D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. II, part i, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Cuzent, *V.J.G.* pp. 117 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. x, p. 173.



island or a valley, and all that was caught in these last was distributed in equal proportions among the different members of the tribe. The people were not free to cast their nets anywhere indiscriminately; each island had its sea, each proprietor had his shore; and it was only in the open sea that fishing was free to everyone<sup>1</sup>. Montiton says that from time immemorial the right of property introduced itself among the people by the occupation and cultivation of territory. Each coconut tree trunk had as master the man who planted it or inherited it from his ancestors. The lands and pandanus heaths, as well as the corresponding bordering portions of the interior lagoon, had as owners the natives who had been the first to sojourn or raise a hut there. Though recognized in principle, however, the right of property was far from being respected in practice. Like a troop of vultures, the most powerful and the boldest warriors hastened on the death of their neighbours, and pitilessly despoiled their wives and children, carried off all they could, even the house of the deceased, and took possession of the land, from which they chased the legitimate proprietors<sup>2</sup>. I am not sure whether this statement applies to any one particular section of the Paumotuan islands; but one of the French missionaries tells practically the same thing as to the island of Napuka<sup>3</sup>. I have found no actual information as to visible land boundaries; but the following terms appear in a vocabulary by Tregear. *Motunga*: a boundary, a demarcation. *Tangata motunga*: an inhabitant of the borders. *Motunga-kainga*: to set land marks<sup>4</sup>.

There is but little material here from which to answer my questions. We have, affecting the first question, the recognition of the king of Mangareva as proprietor of all the land. On the other hand, there is evidence of a wide-spread system of separate ownership; we are told of a right of property, based upon occupation and cultivation of territory, and of a recognition of separate ownership of land, including uncultivated land, and in the lagoon. There is an apparent inconsistency here as to uncultivated land, but it may well be that the explanation is that relatively large groups would own separately from one another the uncultivated bush-land of the interior, behind their respective settlements, whilst ownership of the bush-land of any one group might pass to sub-groups or individuals

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* vol. XIV, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. II, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> Montiton, vol. VI, pp. 502 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 183.



by clearing and cultivation. We are told that a man would be the owner of a coconut tree planted by himself, or inherited from—and presumably planted by—his ancestors. We are not informed whether this tree might be on some other person's land; but if it was not so, the tree must at all events have been on what was regarded as common land, as otherwise the reference to the man's ownership of it would be absurd. We cannot say how far the idea prevailed of common ownership by members of a group of the land of the group, and there is no indication that the fishing with the large communal net was only done in unallotted waters. The statements as to the power of Mapouteoa, and as to what happened after his death, may have a bearing on the third, and perhaps the fourth question; but the answer to those questions would depend upon our conclusions as to the effect of the evidence. Montiton's reference to the doings of the troop of vultures seems merely to touch the subject of either lawlessness or war. As regards the second question, I draw attention to the tradition as to the division by Anua-motua of his dominions among his children.

#### NIUE

I have found no specific evidence as to community of ownership of movable property in the island of Niue. Goodenough speaks of the holding of a *fono* to discuss the election of a king and the question of sale of land "which the natives have been very much averse to hitherto, and have constantly refused"<sup>1</sup>. Thomson says that land was the common property of the septs, represented by their heads. Junior members of a sept came to their laird when in need of land for planting. There was individual ownership in a sense, because a title could be acquired by cultivation, and sons inherited fathers' land; but no land-owner could demise his holding to anyone outside the limit of his sept, and in default of heirs the land reverted to the head of the sept for assignment to other members of it<sup>2</sup>. The planting of yams or plantains by permission conferred no title, but the planting of coconuts did so; thus, there being no boundary marks, encroachment by planting these trees was a continual cause of friction. Thomson refers in 1901 to a recent application of the Pacific Islands Company for a lease of 200 acres, and says that, though the land applied for was not in

<sup>1</sup> Goodenough, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson, *S.I.* pp. 136 sq. Cf. Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxi, p. 143.



occupation, the application failed, because there was no one whose individual interest was sufficient to warrant him in giving a lease<sup>1</sup>. Smith says that every coconut tree had an owner<sup>2</sup>. The *patu* [heads] of *fangai* [families] were the principal land-owners, though every one had land of his own by right of ancestral title; nevertheless Smith had heard of cases in which some individuals had been deprived of their rights by the *patu*<sup>3</sup>.

The amount of this material is very small, but it throws interesting light upon the probable answers to some of my questions.

(1) The land of what Thomson calls a sept was the common property of the sept. This term is, I think, often used with a meaning synonymous with "clan," and we may at all events assume that Thomson uses it to designate a social group, large or small, but not merely a domestic family. This common ownership by the sept is well illustrated by the fact that if a man died without heirs, his land reverted to the head of the sept for assignment to other members of it. On the other hand, a right to individual ownership could be acquired by cultivation, and such a right was hereditary. The evidence as to trees is not clear. Smith, in speaking of personal ownership of trees, only refers to coconuts, and Thomson, speaking of planting by permission, says it would confer a title in the case of coconuts, but not of yams or plantains. Thomson does not say whether he refers to title to the tree only or to the land; but the words "by permission" probably refer to planting on land belonging to another person, and not merely on common land. In any case it may well be that the difference between the two cases arises from the long continued life of the coconut, permanent planting giving a title, whilst mere temporary cultivation did not do so.

(2) The practice as to allotment of common land of the group is illustrated by the statements that junior members of a sept came to the head when they wanted land for planting, and that in default of heirs a man's land reverted to the head of the sept for assignment to other members of it; each of these statements points to the head of the group as the person who allotted its land among the members.

(3) Some degree of permanency of holding is involved in the references to inheritance and ancestral title. Apparently a

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. XXXI, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 178.



man could be deprived of his land by the head of the family; but we are not told what would be the consequences, as affecting the land of a family as a whole, of the deprivation by its head of the rights of a section or individual member of the family. If the custom was the same as in Tahiti the head of the family would not be able to take the land himself; probably it would go, as in the case of a man dying without heirs, to some other members of the family.

(4) Thomson's statement as to the 200 acres suggests that the head of a group could not dispose of its land without the consent of all persons interested—that is, I take it, the other members of the group, or persons entitled to represent them. The reference to the holding of a *fono* points to discussion of the matter by the group.

(5) and (6) The unwillingness to sell, read in the light of what we know of other islands, may probably be interpreted to mean that the sale of land was not a custom of the island. The power of a land-owner to "demise" his land probably referred to an undefined grant of the right to use it; a definite lease, such as the Company seems to have desired, would probably not be in accordance with actual custom prior to intercourse with white men. I draw special attention to the statement that no land-owner could demise his holding to anyone outside the limit of his sept. This raises a question which has been in my mind throughout the investigation of the evidence, but to which no answer has been given by the testimony obtained from the islands already discussed. Could a member of a group by any process of alienation cause land, or the right to possess or occupy it, to pass to someone outside the group? We have seen that in Mangaia an adopted son forfeited his land if he did not conform to his military duties as a member of the group, and that a woman might not take any portion of the ancestral land of the group into another group—which, I have suggested, means that she could not cause land to pass out of her group by some process arising from her marriage. Neither of these statements touches directly the subject of alienation in the sense in which we are using the term; but they both point to an objection to land passing out of the group. This would be so in the case of the adopted son, who in fact, as I understand the matter, was deprived of his right of membership of the group, and would revert to his membership of his own original group; so that if he kept his land it would in



effect pass to the latter group. It is just possible that the statement that in Rarotonga the ownership of the family land carried with it the obligation to support the family, *and could not be diverted from that object*, involves a restriction against alienation to an outsider, though this is not, I fancy, the meaning, or at all events the only meaning, with which it was made. I think there is ground for believing that, both in these Hervey Islands and in Niue, there was an objection to occupation of land going out of the group, though we cannot say with what extended or limited meaning the word "group" should be interpreted; and we may well suspect that this objection prevailed in some other parts of Polynesia, though we cannot prove it. I may point out that a restriction of this sort would not be inconsistent with the giving of occupation grants to white men. I think the very fact that they were allowed to live among the people points to their having been adopted as members of the group; I cannot discuss this question here; but the admission to membership has been illustrated by the statement that in Tonga, whilst the chiefs claimed common ownership of the movable property of the missionaries, they recognized a corresponding ownership by the latter of their own (the chiefs') property, and by the extraordinary consequences reported from some of the islands, arising from an exchange of names between a native chief and a white man, or the giving by the former of his name to the latter.

## ROTUMA

Lesson says that in the island of Rotuma the power of the chiefs was very great; they possessed all the land, but they exercised authority in a paternal rather than in an oppressive manner<sup>1</sup>.

I have, in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," drawn attention to the tall people who lived in a part of the central hilly district, cultivating exclusively the great central valley, and who, Gardiner suggests, may have been the original inhabitants of the island, conquered by some subsequent migration; and I have referred to certain rights and restrictions affecting them in connection with planting and fishing. These were broadly as follows; they had, as a rule, no land or rights outside their valley, nor any claim to the main channel between the shore and the reef; the outer reef, however, was considered as being joint property of both coast and hill peoples, though

<sup>1</sup> Lesson, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 432.



the latter had to pay the former a half-yearly tribute in vegetable food for the permission to cross the channel.

Gardiner is, apparently, speaking of the coast and not the hill people<sup>1</sup>, when he says that the centre of the eastern division of the island was strictly divided up between the different districts, but its people rarely formed a division to themselves, many having planting rights in several districts. Most of their descendants had really either little or no land in their possession properly, or had made exchanges so as to get it all close together though exchanges for this purpose seem from Gardiner's account to have been due largely to the influence of missionaries for the convenience of their work. Gardiner refers, however, to two families of a big village situate almost at the junction of the three districts, Noatau, Oinafa and Pepji, who still had planting rights in all the three districts; he also gives some modern information as to certain people in the head to the west of the neck, which, however, does not help us in considering the present subject<sup>2</sup>. No private property in land formerly existed; it was all vested in the *pure* [heads] for the time being of the *hoang* [families]<sup>3</sup>.

The land usually consisted of four kinds, bush, swamp, coast and proprietary water in the boat channel, common to the *hoang*. Every member of the *hoang* knew its boundaries, which consisted of lines between certain trees or prominent rocks, posts and even stone walls. In the bush-land every *hoang* possessed property; it lay on the slopes of hills, and in valleys between, at some slight distance from the coast, from which it was separated by a stone wall running round the whole island. On it taro, yams, bananas, plantains and a few coconut trees were grown for food, while the paths into it and through it were planted with the Tahitian chestnut, the *fava* tree, and the sago palm, the two former of these being favourite boundary marks owing to their size and longevity. Swamp land was only found in certain districts, and in it was grown *popoi* or *broka*, against famine; its boundaries were stones at the sides, and the possession of a good-sized strip always gave to a *hoang* a position of importance. Coast land lay outside the surrounding wall, and each *hoang* had a strip from and including the foreshore; on it, as near as possible to the coast, the house

<sup>1</sup> I say this after comparing some of the names to which he refers with the maps.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVI, p. 482.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 483.



or houses of the *hoang* were placed, while the rest of the land was planted with coconuts for drinking purposes. *Hifo* trees are said to have been planted formerly to show the boundaries, but stones or coconut trees had become more common, and the ownership of these was a constant source of dispute. Districts, and even villages [he is evidently referring to coast land], were sharply marked off by walls down to the beach. All had the right of turning out their pigs on this land, and each *hoang* had to keep in proper repair the parts of the wall adjacent to it. Each usually had, however, an enclosure on its own land for its own pigs, when young. The proprietary water ran from the foreshore to the reef, being a continuation of the strip on shore. In two districts, where it was very broad, it was to some extent cross-divided. The reef—*i.e.* the part on the outside exposed at the low tide—was the common property of all<sup>1</sup>.

It was the duty of the *pure* to divide out the bush-land year by year for planting purposes to the different households of the *hoang*. The swamp land was cultivated by the whole *hoang*; but if one part of the boat channel was specially fed by one member, he got an especial right there. Any land, not being planted, was willingly lent to another *hoang* on condition of first-fruits of each patch being brought to the *pure*; but coconut trees on the land could not be touched by the tenant, nor was he entitled to their usufruct. If a *hoang* owned land in one district, but lived in another, first-fruits were always paid to the chief of the district in which its lands lay. Any encroachment on the land was vigorously resented, and was usually referred to the district chief for settlement<sup>2</sup>.

In recent years, very generally, on the *hoang* becoming small, its land has been divided out severally among its members, thus creating private property. Gardiner refers to arbitrary acts, since the introduction of missionaries, of seizure of land by the chiefs, the chiefs in the several districts being in fact [native?] missionaries, and of payments in coconut oil to the mission; he attributes all this to the power obtained by the Wesleyan mission and chiefs, as the result of many wars waged against the adherents of the old religion, and adds that the confiscation of all the lands of the vanquished was proposed by the mission, but resisted by all the chiefs. "Much land lent to and bought by the Roman Catholic mission is similarly

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 483 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 484.



situated; the individuals had no right to dispose of it without the consent of the whole *hoang*. The children of a marriage now, under British rule, have rights in the land of both parents, so that they belong to two *hoang*; in time the whole island should become absolutely communal. Property too, in wells and the reef waters, is now comparatively little recognized"<sup>1</sup>.

Portions of this last series of statements, dealing mainly, as I understand, with changes produced by missionaries and British rule, are rather difficult to follow. First we are told that recently there has been an evolution of recognition of private ownership by members of a *hoang*; but later on Gardiner refers to a development which, he suggests, may lead to absolute communism, and speaks of the present want of recognition of property in wells and reef waters. I fancy the former development is attributed by him to a native process of changes, though why this should result from a diminution of the size of the *hoang* is not obvious. I should have thought that the tendency would have been rather in the opposite direction—that is, that a diminution in the size of a *hoang* would tend rather to induce common ownership, and not separate ownership by its constituent sectional groups or members. The practice for children to inherit the land, both of their father and of their mother, if she was possessed of land in her own right, is not one which I should have thought would have its origin in British rule, unless, indeed, this had brought about a discontinuance of a then existing system of matrilineal descent and succession, with its accompanying inheritance, under which system inheritance of the father's land could not pass to his own children; with the result that it might go to them, along with that of their mother<sup>2</sup>.

Gardiner says that private property existed to some extent in domestic animals and manufactured articles. If a man's sons and sons-in-law were living and planting with him, he might, on his death-bed, apportion out the planted land to each; but the land was none the less under the *hoang*, and subject to the payment of first-fruits to its *pure*. If a man had planted more coconuts than required by the *hoang*, he had the entire usufruct of these trees during his lifetime, quite independently of the

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.*, vol. xxvii, p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> We have seen that there is no evidence of a continuing recognition in Gardiner's time even of matrilineal descent, though there were, apparently, relics of it; and we shall see evidence pointing to the prevalence of patrilineal succession



apportionment of the land below them, for planting. If a man had in old age been neglected by his descendants or *hoang*, and taken care of by a stranger, he often gave him for his lifetime the usufruct of these trees, and the crop of any plantations he might have cultivated before his death; but this only extended to the single crop, and subsequent planting was not allowed<sup>1</sup>.

It was customary for a whole district to combine in making a large fishing-net, called *vou hapa*, of which each household would have its allotted share. The first occasion of using this net was called the "hauling of the net," and the fish caught in these hauls were all cooked together, and a feast was held. Afterwards the net would be lent to any part of the district wishing to use it, or to any other district for half the fish it caught<sup>2</sup>.

I begin the consideration of this evidence by referring to the statement that private property existed *to some extent* in domestic animals and manufactured articles. I think the same thing might have been said as to other islands from which we have such striking evidence of a general system of some degree of communism in movable property, and that Gardiner's mode of expressing himself suggests that a system of communism prevailed to a certain extent in Rotuma. The same idea is perhaps disclosed in another way by the reference to the communal use of the fishing-net of a district, and the mode of allowing its use by sections of the district, and letting it out to other districts in consideration of the receipt of half the catch, which would no doubt be the common property of the district that owned the net.

I will now consider the probable answers to my questions.

(1) We are told by Gardiner that in one part of the island the land was strictly divided up between the different districts; and the intermixture of the people of different districts and the planting rights of two families in three districts to which he refers may well have been caused by intermarriages. He does not say whether this district ownership prevailed elsewhere, but he speaks in another place of the marking off of both districts and villages down to the beach, and, apparently, across the channel. The territories of the various *hoang* were separate and distinct, and marked by known boundaries, each *hoang* having, among other things, its own portion of the bush-land and its own section of the channel; there was communal

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 485 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 426 sq.



fishing by the district, but it is not stated whether this took place in the channel with its *hoang* ownerships, or in the sea beyond the reef, which was apparently common to all the people of the island, or to both. All the rest of the information given relates to the land organization within the *hoang*. Gardiner says there was *formerly* [my italics] no private property in land, which was all vested in the *pure* for the time being of the *hoang*. It was his duty to divide out the bush-land year by year for planting to the different households of the *hoang*; but swamp land was cultivated by the whole *hoang*. I gather that the division of bush-land was done annually, in which case the tenure of any one family would, or might be, sufficient only for one crop. The coast land appears to have been common to the *hoang*, all the members of which could turn their pigs on to it; but separate households had their own enclosures for young pigs, and special rights over parts of the channel in which they had fed the fish. It is perhaps significant that it was the swamp land, which was used to provide against famine, that was subject to communal cultivation. Apparently it was only in recent times that the practice commenced of dividing up the land of the *hoang* among its members, and the division was only made in some of the *hoang*. This would presumably be a more permanent division, and we have the statement that a dying man might apportion out his planted land to his sons, which means that it became more or less hereditary, subject nevertheless to the rights of the *hoang*.

The reference to the right of a man to the usufruct for life, of any coconuts planted by him in excess of the amount required by the whole *hoang* is not very clear. The "land below them," the apportionment of which was a matter of which his rights were independent, presumably refers to the ground on which they were grown. If this land were his own, the statement would seem to be meaningless; so I think the situation to which Gardiner refers must be one of coconuts planted by a man on land common to the whole *hoang*, or perhaps, in recent years, land of another man. The statement as to the man who had been neglected in his old age is still more difficult to interpret; but I fancy the meaning is that the man, having planted more coconuts than were required by the *hoang*, with the help of the assiduous stranger (whom he would probably have adopted) would give that stranger his own right for life to the usufruct of the coconuts so planted in excess,



and would give him the next crop, reaped after the donor's death—but no more—arising from his garden plantations.

(2) The only information about the allotment of land of a group among its members refers to the year by year division of the bush-land by the *pure* of a *hoang* among its related members (a system which would, I imagine, only prevail so long as the land had not been divided more permanently among the households of the *hoang*), and the recent practice of division among those members. Here again we get the custom of allotment by the head of the group.

(3) The permanency, at all events to some degree, of the tenure of the land of a district and of a *hoang* is indicated by the statements as to stone walls and other boundary marks; and I draw attention, as to this, to the preference for the chestnut and *fava* trees as boundaries because of their longevity, and to the quarrels as to boundaries. Perhaps the resistance offered by all the chiefs to the proposal of the missionaries for general confiscation points to some permanency, because it is reasonable to suppose that some, at least, of the land in question had been in the possession of its occupiers for a period greater than one previous life. The evidence as to the power of a man to apportion his land among his sons suggests some degree of permanence of tenure of land divided out among the members of a *hoang*.

(4) The statement that individuals had no right to dispose of land without the consent of the whole *hoang* would certainly apply to a case in which the land was still the common property of the *hoang* and probably points to or includes inability on the part of the *pure*; it may, however, refer also to a restriction against alienation by any one member of a *hoang*, without this consent, of his share in divided land.

(5) and (6) I refer to what we are told as to the lending of land by one *hoang* to another. The exclusion from the loan of the coconuts would be natural, because they were not the produce of the labour of the borrowing *hoang*. If the exchanges of land, to which Gardiner refers, were due to missionary influence, we must not assume that they were in accord with Rotuman practices.

#### FOTUNA

The only information I have found from the island of Fotuna is that when smoke appeared in the missionaries' house the natives would appear, and though the missionaries had



scarcely anything to eat, they had to invite the natives to share it, as it would have been "bad taste" not to have done so<sup>1</sup>; and that they distinguished between common and individual property [in land], the latter being hereditary and capable of increase or diminution by agreements<sup>2</sup>. The former statement is suggestive of communism in food, which may very likely have extended to other movable property, and the latter points to some distinction between land which belonged to the group, and that in which some form of ownership was recognized.

#### UVEA

It is stated that in Uvea the people, whatever their necessity, shared what they possessed, and sometimes deprived themselves entirely in order to offer to those who visited them<sup>3</sup>. As regards land, Deschamps says that it was inalienable; but refers to the practice (1885) for the queen to grant to strangers ten-year leases at a rent. If, however, it was not crown land but belonged to one of her subjects, the stranger had to pay a further rent to the owner<sup>4</sup>.

#### TOKELAU

Lister, speaking of the island of Fakaofo, of the Tokelau group, says that two of its islets belonged to the king; two others were common property; and the rest were divided up as the property of individuals<sup>5</sup>. The probable interpretation of this is that there had been a general dividing up of these islands, two of them belonging to the king as his demesne, but that two of them, which may or may not have been cultivated, were for some reason or other regarded as communal property. Of the neighbouring island of Gente Hermosa it is said that the land was divided among many owners and planted with certain roots, of which they made bread, whilst all the rest was a large and thick palm grove, which was the chief sustenance of the natives<sup>6</sup>. If we are to understand that the palm grove was common property, whilst the planted land was divided, we may speculate on the possibility that ownership of a sort was recognized where yearly labour was devoted to the land, whilst the palm grove, having perhaps been an old one, planted long ago by their ancestors, was regarded as common property.

<sup>1</sup> Mangeret, vol. i, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. XXI, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Bourdin, p. 458.

<sup>5</sup> Deschamps, p. 280.

<sup>6</sup> Quiros, vol. i, p. 216.



## ELLICE ISLANDS

Hedley says that in the Ellice Island of Funafuti, during the reign of Touassa, the land was first portioned out, each individual receiving a share; but after Touassa's death, Erivada, the priest, instituted a redistribution in which the adult males or fighting men alone participated, and the conflicting land titles granted by Touassa and Erivada breed dispute to this day<sup>1</sup>. The coconut tree was said to have been first introduced into Funafuti in Touassa's reign. At this period land, other than the village site of the taro gardens, first acquired a value, and the whole atoll was parcelled out among the tribe, each man proceeding to plant his portion with coconuts<sup>2</sup>. Hedley is evidently referring to relatively recent times when he says that each family had at least one garden plot, and most had more. A plot might be as small as ten paces square. The plots of one owner were not necessarily contiguous; nor were the lands of various owners divided by boundary marks visible to a stranger<sup>3</sup>. Anyone athirst in another man's land was free to pluck his neighbour's coconuts, but was expected to report the circumstance to the owner<sup>4</sup>.

Sollas says that Touassa seems to have been a good ruler, and signalized his reign by dividing the land, which had hitherto been held in common, and fairly apportioning it among the people. He tells us of Erivada that he was a great benefactor to the islands. The coconut palms were few, and food was scarce, so he organized expeditions to the Gilbert Islands, and brought back a great quantity of nuts, and the whole island of Funafuti was planted with them under his direction. But he broke up the ancient laws of the kings, and upset the distribution of the land, dividing it afresh between the king and thirty or more sub-kings of his own creation. Hence arose the disputes as to the ownership of land which persist even to the present day<sup>5</sup>.

According to Mrs David, the land was owned by the people. Every man had his own tiny estate, bequeathed by his ancestors, and though some had larger portions than others, all had enough for food<sup>6</sup>. The men who worked the land for young orphans had a right to a part of its produce, and they usually adopted the children, treated them as their own, and resigned

<sup>1</sup> Hedley, pp. 43 sq.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 23.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 61.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Sollas, *Nature* 1897, p. 354.    <sup>6</sup> Mrs David, p. 187.



the land as soon as the children were of an age to work it themselves<sup>1</sup>. Mrs David could never discover how each person knew his or her land; there were no fences, no dividing ditches and no landmarks of any kind that she could see; and yet every man knew his own patch, even when it was right in the middle of another person's patch. She thinks they knew it in the coconut land by the trees. They certainly knew the owners of all the odd pawpaws, bananas and breadfruit trees that were scattered about the village, and everyone respected his neighbour's right to the fruit of his cultivated trees<sup>2</sup>. The common pandanus (*fala vao*) grew self-sown everywhere, and the fruit and leaves of this variety were free to all, no matter in whose land they grew. A large-fruited variety of pandanus (*fala kai*), which was planted and cultivated, was not free to all, but, like coconuts and bananas, the property of the man who planted it. So far as she could gather, any one could build himself a hut anywhere in the village without paying ground rent, all clear spaces being available for the purpose<sup>3</sup>. A man who was thirsty when far from home might take a coconut from another man's trees, so long as he reported the fact as soon as he returned to the village<sup>4</sup>. The natives said that their forefathers planted all the old trees, and that they had planted all the young ones<sup>5</sup>.

I cannot say when it was that Touassa reigned in Funafuti. His name appears in the lists of kings provided by Hedley and Sollas, which are practically identical, and were both prepared from information given by the reigning king at the end of last century<sup>6</sup>. In each of these lists there were nine intervening reigns between his and that of their informant; but these reigns do not all represent generations. The lists give relationships of successive kings, from which it appears that a number of successions were from father to son, but that some were to collaterals; and though the lists are not identical in these details, their joint effect is to place Touassa about six actual generations before the king reigning at the end of last century.

It appears then that, according to the tradition, about six generations before the end of last century communism in land prevailed in Funafuti, though it is not clear that this was so as regarded the gardens then existing, but that the land was then

<sup>1</sup> Mrs David, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 188 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> Hedley, pp. 43 sq. Sollas, *Nature* 1897, pp. 353 sq.



divided up. The statements by Hedley and Sollas as to disputes arising from the redistribution by Erivada that they continued to the present day show that the people claimed as ancestral property the lands that had been allotted to their respective ancestors under one or other of the distributions, and, according to Mrs David, the development of ancestral ownership had extended to smaller plots. An interesting feature of the matter is that the commencement, or at all events the extension of the idea of separate ownership was believed to have synchronized with the introduction into the island of the coconut, a long living and valuable tree, the rights to which seem, in parts of Polynesia, to have remained in the hands of the descendants or other successors of the original planters. As to this, I refer to Hedley's statement that at the time of the arrival of the coconuts land, other than the taro gardens, first acquired a value, and that each man planted his coconuts on his own allotted portion of what had till then been common land. The truth or otherwise of the tradition does not seem to be vital to our present subject, as the *belief* that ancestral ownership began with allotment and permanent planting is a matter of interest. The original distributions had evidently been made by the king and Erivada.

Mrs David's statement as to the right to build a hut in any vacant space in the village indicates, if she is right,—which she probably is, as rights of this sort are found among primitive people elsewhere—that, even in recent times, what I may call the vacant village land remained common property until someone built upon it.

The distinction, as regards questions of ownership, between the produce of nature and of a man's labour seems to have prevailed in modern times, for the common uncultivated pandanus was regarded as the property of every one, even if it grew in a man's own plot, and there was a recognition of separate ownership of cultivated trees. Similarly, the right to build a hut in any vacant space in the village points to the idea that a man could, by bestowing labour upon a plot of common land, get some right to its use, provided no doubt that his acts were in accord with the custom of the country. Then again, it seems clear that the odd pawpaws, bananas and breadfruit trees scattered about the village, to which Mrs David refers, must have been, not in private garden plots, but in the vacant village land; and the recognition of individual



ownership of these trees may, I think, be associated with a personal right of a man who has planted a tree on common land to the fruits of his labour. The right of a man to slake his thirst, even with another man's coconut, provided he afterwards told him of it, seems to suggest a sort of compromise or confusion between ideas of common and individual ownership.

#### EASTER ISLAND

Beechey refers to the belief of Roggewein and Pérouse that in Easter Island property, by which he evidently refers to both land and movable property, was common; but suggests doubts as to this having been so, his main ground for these being the careful division of the land by rows of stones<sup>1</sup>. Lapelin says that each family was the owner of the property where it lived, without prejudice to its power of possessing other lands which it cultivated without the aid of anyone<sup>2</sup>. According to Thomson, personal security and the rights of private property were little regarded<sup>3</sup>. In speaking, however, of the right of the king to remove a chief, and appoint a successor, he defines the latter as being "a successor from the people of the clan"<sup>4</sup>, from which I gather that he had to be a member, qualified to succeed to the chieftainship, of the social group of which the deposed chief was the head, and the land of the group would remain in its possession. One of the French fathers says that the chief on whose land he lived considered that he had a right to anything the father possessed, but on the other hand supplied him with potatoes<sup>5</sup>. According to one of the Spanish travellers, the people were so fond of taking other people's property that what one man obtained another would take from him, and he yielded it without feeling aggrieved, though he might resist a little, and they remained friends. He thought that goods were held in common<sup>6</sup>. I cannot enter here into a discussion of the question of boundaries in Easter Island and the suggestions that the stone images were boundary marks.

It seems to me that probably movable property was common property, but that, as elsewhere, some form of separate ownership of land had developed, and that in the case of the families of chiefs it was more or less permanent. I refer also to the traditions as to the original portioning out of the island, which

<sup>1</sup> Beechey, vol. 1, pp. 54 sq.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Thomson, p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XXXVIII, pp. 62 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Lapelin, *R.M.G.* vol. XXXV, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 472.

<sup>6</sup> Corney, *Easter*, p. 98.



was said to have been done by king Hotu-matua, and to the partial general similarity of the districts, as described by Mrs Routledge, to the areas which Hotu-matua was supposed to have given to his sons.

#### PENRHYN ISLAND

Moss was told that in Penrhyn Island the different tribes were generally fighting—usually about land or women, etc., or the right of fishing or getting pearl shells in different parts of the lagoon<sup>1</sup>; from which I gather that there was some system of ownership, both of land and of the waters of the lagoon. Lamont says that certain coconut trees were appropriated to his use, and it would be a deadly sin for any of his adopted relatives [by which he presumably means the people with whom he was living, and who had adopted him into their group] to eat the fruit of these; though he might give it to strangers. In most communities there were trees thus tabooed belonging to departed friends, and their produce could only be made use of by bartering them for others of a similar character<sup>2</sup>. I cannot explain this last statement.

#### RAPA

It is said that a king of Rapa and two chiefs, having been given rum, signed away the islands to the French; but many of the influential chiefs denied the king's right to alienate any lands not being his personal property<sup>3</sup>.

#### TIKOPIA

It is said that in Tikopia coconuts belonged to all, but the chiefs had most of them<sup>4</sup>, and that a man who had nothing to eat might go into someone else's field and no one would say anything to him<sup>5</sup>.

#### FUTUNA (NEW HEBRIDES)

In the New Hebridean island of Futuna every child had its own plot of ground and its own fruit trees inherited from father, mother, uncles or aunts, or given by a friend who named the child. The ground was owned apart from the trees growing thereon; and thus people often possessed coconuts and other fruit trees, planted by themselves or their forefathers, on land far from their own<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Moss, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Lamont, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Vine Hall, *N.Z.I.* vol. 1, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. v, p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 310.

<sup>6</sup> Gunn, p. 202.



## CHAPTER XLI

### CONTROL OF FOOD SUPPLY

#### PRELIMINARY

THE subject of the control of food supply includes the methods adopted both for ensuring production and for restricting consumption. The ensuring of production might be effected by two methods: one of these was by prayers to the gods, or in some cases, apparently, by the supernatural powers of living men, though it is not always possible to be sure which of these two ideas is disclosed by the evidence, and it may well be that the Polynesians themselves were not always clear as to the distinction; the other method of securing production was by practical instructions and directions as to cultivation. There would be, besides the normal regulation of food supply, special reasons, arising from time to time, for either increased planting or reduced consumption, or both; such as a drought, or the fear of it, or a coming ceremony for which large quantities of food would be needed, and the consequent dearth after the ceremony. The main point of view from which I propose to regard the evidence is that of the powers and duties of a chief or other head of a social group; and as to this I must point out that where, as in Samoa, the evidence points to control by the *fono* or council, we do not know how far the chief or head of the group may have taken the initiative. There are two other matters to which I draw attention. One of these is the inability to draw a defined line of distinction between the temporary and seasonal allocation by the head of a group to sub-groups or members of certain portions of the land of the group (probably more or less confined to quite small groups) and the more permanent allotment and division of the land of a group which has already been considered, and the consequent possible partial overlapping of the evidence as to these two systems. The other is the difficulty of distinguishing with exactitude between things done by the head of the group solely in the interests and for the protection of the food supply of the group as a whole, and those his motives for which were, or may have been, wholly or to a large extent, of a more personal character.



The latter of these can hardly be separated entirely from the subject of tribute, with which I propose to deal separately; so here again there will be some overlapping. The powers of the head of a social group, great or small, acting under his own supernatural power or as the high priest of the group, to secure benefits for the group, of various sorts, or protection from disaster, would naturally often include matters relating to harvests and food supply. I shall, however, confine myself to statements which apparently or possibly refer to supernatural power, as distinguished from the performance of priestly offices, and which credit a chief with power relating definitely to food.

## SAMOA

We have seen that, according to Samoan tradition, Pili gave to his son Tua the plantation dibble, representing the work of agriculture, and the division of Atua; to his son Ana the spear, as an emblem of war, and the division of Aana; and to his son Sanga the orator's staff and fly flapper and the division of Tuamasanga; but we cannot say whether this story points to any departmental system by which the supervision and control of food supply, war, and oratory and prayers had once been separated. It is obvious that, when these three divisions became politically separate, each having its own king and constitution, no one of them could control the food supply of any other.

It was said that the *tuimanu'a*, when travelling, might not raise his head up, because, if he did so, the fruits on the trees would go wrong<sup>1</sup>, and that the "king" of Tutuila [I do not know who would be called this] had always to look downwards, as his glance, if it fell upon trees and animals and other things, would cause them to die<sup>2</sup>. There is here no suggestion of any process of causing things to flourish, and it is rather a matter of the infectious taboo produced by indirect contact with a great chief; but I think it better to mention it.

Stuebel says that Tonumaip'e had, according to usage and custom, command over the provisions, the land and soil and the people<sup>3</sup>. Stuebel is in this referring to the head chief of the great family group whose name he bore, and I think the statement illustrates a recognition of a general idea of responsi-

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 106.<sup>2</sup> *J.P.S.* vol. XII, p. 86.<sup>3</sup> Stuebel, p. 156.



bility (not supernatural) of a great chief or other head of a social or family group for its food supply. Stuebel also says that the head (*matai*) of a sub-group (*puiaina*) governed over the land assigned to him by the head (*matai sili*) of the group; but he could not dispose of the breadfruit trees on it and order them to be cut down, for the benefit of another family [by which is, I think, meant another sub-group] or the family of one of his children, without the permission of the head of the group<sup>1</sup>. This illustrates, I think, the inability of the head of a group or sub-group to divert food supply from the general use of the people of that group or sub-group.

The reference to the assigning by the head of a group to the head of a sub-group of a portion of the land of the group over which portion the latter afterwards governed seems to point to a more or less permanent allocation to the sub-group. Graeffe says that the various *tulafale* or heads of families came to an agreement in their assemblies as to the portion of land to be cultivated by each, and belonging to him for the time being; and so it was natural that the fruits were regarded as common property<sup>2</sup>. This points apparently to a system of only temporary allocation of land as between the various families, and it will be noticed that it is said to have been arranged, not by the chief of all of them, but by agreement between their respective heads.

Turning now to the specific subject of the control of production, von Bülow says that the breeding of pigs and the cultivation of the land were under the superintendence of the assembly of the place. To ensure the continuance of the field fruits the plantations were visited once weekly by selected members of this assembly. If it turned out that the plantations were not giving evidence of affording sufficient food for the future, it was directed that every male member of the family capable of work should plant a fixed number of taro, yams, etc., the test of capacity to work being ability to climb a coconut palm. So also the women had to plant sugar-cane to provide the reeds needed for the support of house roofs, and *ua* (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) from the bark of which the clothing material (*siapo*) was made. If famine was close at hand, the planting of quickly grown potatoes was ordered. Failure to comply with the orders of the assembly of the place as to cultivation involved punishment, such as the handing over of pigs, fowls, or *siapo*,

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Graeffe, *J.M.G.* vol. 1, p. 23.



or forced labour on the public roads. The decisions of the assembly were binding<sup>1</sup>. The assembly also determined the number of coconut palms which each head of a family was to plant on his land annually<sup>2</sup>. Pigs were bred to a great extent by every family for the entertainment of guests and the glorification of feasts; but a Samoan never killed a pig for himself and his family, this being forbidden by the law of the place<sup>3</sup>. Krämer, in describing a village *fono*, refers, as an example of what was done concerning food supply, to the giving of directions that the people should lay out taro plantations, plant taro, plant a hundred coconut palms, plant a hundred bananas and a hundred yams, lay out a large kava plantation, look after pigs, feed fowls, etc.; and says that if anyone disregarded these instructions, he was fined five fine mats, in default of which his pigs would be killed<sup>4</sup>. Stuebel also refers to the same subject<sup>5</sup> and mentions the decision of the *fono* of a village district regarding the building of stone walls for the penning in of pigs, the weeding of the roads leading to the plantations and travelling roads inside the village district; also the penalties to be inflicted on those who did not obey orders; and the direction that if anyone's pig should leap over a wall and damage plantations it would be killed<sup>6</sup>.

On the subject of restriction of consumption, von Bülow refers to the forbidding by the assembly of the place of the use of taro and yam as food so long as there was a supply of bread-fruit; and to the determination by the assembly of the date and duration of time in which coconuts might not be used as food, or the number of coconuts that might be used weekly in that period. So also, he says, if the assembly of the place thought it necessary to increase the stock of pigs, a prohibition against their slaughter would be issued. There were punishments for breaking any of these orders<sup>7</sup>. The owner of a fishing ground had to follow the commands of the assembly of the place, when the latter prohibited the catching of the *atule* (South Sea herring) for a period, in order to gain time to make preparations for the [communal] catching of this fish in the great drag net<sup>8</sup>. Krämer, in speaking of a village *fono*, says that, among other things, the taboos for the place were fixed,

<sup>1</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXIX, p. 194; cf. *ibid.* vol. LXXXIII, pp. 375 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. LXXXIII, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, pp. 188 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, pp. 40 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Stuebel, p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXXIII, p. 376; cf. *ibid.* vol. LXIX, p. 194.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* vol. LXXXII, p. 319.



it being decided whether fowls, pigs, coconuts, etc., might be consumed, and which of them must be saved for some reason, as, for example, a prospective feast<sup>1</sup>. Krämer's reference here to pigs is not necessarily inconsistent with von Bülow's statement that they were reserved for the entertainment of guests and for feasts; indeed Stuebel says that the *fono* of a village would take counsel over regulations for the prohibition of [the killing of] pigs for the villages, *i.e.* that no pig might be cooked for a travelling party visiting a village unless that party brought [a present of] fine mats, and the penalty for the breach of this order was prescribed<sup>2</sup>. Stuebel also refers to the power of the leading *tulafale* (pl.) of Faleata, in Tuamasanga, to direct a prohibition against the killing of pigs, or the consumption of coconuts<sup>3</sup>, and to a similar proceeding in Vaimaunga in Tuamasanga<sup>4</sup>. According to Brown, the inhabitants of a place would impose a taboo on pigs for the purpose of a proposed feast or other ceremony, and on coconuts in order that the owners might be able to pay their share of a levy to be made for the buying of a canoe<sup>5</sup>. Fraser refers to the tabooing of food required for the annual presentation of great offerings to the god Tangaroa<sup>6</sup>. Ella includes the appointing of feasts and of general taboos among the duties of a chief<sup>7</sup>; I do not think we must regard this as meaning that it was not arranged at a *fono*, though the chief might be the person who, after consultation with his advisers, and perhaps through his orators, proposed it, and in whose name it was done.

Stuebel says that the leading *tulafale* of Faleata included among their powers that of dispensation from prohibitions within the district<sup>8</sup>, that is, the removal of these taboos; I think we may assume that this removal would probably be decreed by the *fono* that directed the taboo, though in both cases the prominent *tulafale* of the district affected would take the lead.

## TONGA

There was, as we have seen, in Tongatabu, in Cook's time, besides the *tuitonga* and the *tuikanokubolu*, an important third person named Tubu, who controlled the food supply, inspecting, with the help of his deputies, all the produce of the

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. 1, p. 40 and note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxv, p. 146 note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. iv, p. 631.

<sup>5</sup> Stuebel, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Brown, pp. 278 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Stuebel, p. 126.



island, giving directions as to cultivation, seeing that every man cultivated his quota, presiding over the food taboo, ordering what should and should not be eaten, and interdicting consumption of any form or forms of food of which a shortage seemed likely, not merely on account of drought, but in consequence of lavish consumption involved in the entertainment of visitors or the holding of a great festival, or arising from war. I have suggested the possibility that this was a case of a triple division of the sacred and secular duties and food control. If it was not so, we must, I imagine, assume that Tubu, who was a member of the Kanokubolu or Haatakalaua family, was an important departmental official, acting on behalf, as I gather, of the *tuitonga*, or perhaps of the *tuikanokubolu* or *tuihaatakalaua*, who was thus, in his capacity of sacred or secular ruler, exercising a systematic control over the food supply of the island.

This alternative suggestion is consistent with the idea that the monarch was primarily responsible for the maintenance of the food supply of his subjects, and information given by Mariner points to a similar responsibility taken by Finau on behalf of the people of Vavau Island which was then under his rule. He tells us that, after the fighting arising from the rebellion against Finau by his aunt Toe Umu, whom he had established as his head chief over Vavau, and the ultimate establishment of peace by the recognition of his sovereign power over the island, he summoned a general meeting of the inhabitants of Vavau. At this meeting he gave directions to all the principal men as to the cultivation of the country, which the late war had reduced to a sad state; he ordered frugality in food consumption by every one; he directed the obtaining of a plentiful supply of fish, in order to lessen the consumption of pork<sup>1</sup>. Then again, on a subsequent date he called a general *fono* in Vavau, at which the people were harangued, evidently by his orders, as to various matters, including those connected with agriculture; and Mariner says that *fono* of this character were often held, the instructions being addressed to all the people, or at least to the petty chiefs, who in their turn often addressed in a similar way *fono* of their own people, and that these *fono*, great and small, dealt with questions of cultivation among other things<sup>2</sup>. On a later page there is a reference by Mariner to the next Finau (the son and successor of the other) devoting his attention to the cultivation of the island of Vavau,

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. 1, pp. 199 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 229 sq.



with such success that it soon began to assume a more beautiful and cultivated appearance<sup>1</sup>.

Anderson says that the king [meaning in this case the *tuitonga*] was able to furnish pork every day, but inferior chiefs, according to their riches, could only do so once a week, a fortnight, or a month. Sometimes they were not allowed that; for when the island [Tongatabu] was impoverished by war or other causes, the chief forbade his subjects to kill any pigs. The prohibition sometimes lasted for several months, or even a year or two. When it was thought proper to remove it, the chiefs assembled at the king's house, and each brought him a present of hogs; the king then ordered some to be killed, a feast followed, and the restriction was removed<sup>2</sup>. A taboo on food was required after the feasting at a great event, such as an *inaji* ceremony<sup>3</sup> or the funeral of a *tuitonga*<sup>4</sup>. Waldegrave (1830) says that "two years ago" it was very dry and hot in Vavau, and the greater portion of their pigs died; and a taboo therefore commenced until the island was replenished. He also refers to the placing of a taboo on hogs and poultry in anticipation of a proposed great feast<sup>5</sup>. Wheeler says that the poor people never thought of killing a pig for themselves, these being mostly raised for the use of the chiefs<sup>6</sup>. Mariner refers to the practice of placing a taboo for a time on certain kinds of food to prevent them from growing scarce after great and repeated ceremonies, such as the *inaji*, and to the ceremonial removal of the taboo<sup>7</sup>; and he refers to the placing of a taboo, lasting about eight or ten months, upon certain kinds of provisions, to make up for the prodigious consumption in connection with the ceremonies attending the burial of the *tuitonga*<sup>8</sup>. He gives a specific example of the taboo following the burial of the *tuitonga*; it lasted about eight months and was laid on pigs, fowls and coconuts, so that none but great chiefs might use them for food under pain of death<sup>9</sup>.

#### SOCIETY ISLANDS

According to Ellis, miraculous events were believed to occur when a Tahitian king took up the actual reins of government. We are told of an *aoa* tree, resembling the banyan, which shot

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 30; cf. vol. I, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, p. 192.

<sup>7</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Cook, vol. VI, pp. 140 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 110 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Wheeler, p. 253.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 185.



forth a new fibrous branch at his birth; and that on his taking over the rule this branch or tendril reached the ground; and of a bamboo, used for the occasion, which drew its roots out of the ground at the approach of the ceremony, and leaped into the hand of the person who was sent for it<sup>1</sup>. The particular king to whom this miraculous honour was afforded is not identified, nor is it said that it was given to kings generally; but the presence of such a tradition illustrates the ideas of the people concerning the supernatural associations of their kings. It is in the light of this conception that I regard Vancouver's description of the funeral of a great chief of Eimeo. He says that the prayer of the chief priest "seemed at intervals like an expostulation with the Divinity, by adverting to the different productions of the island remaining, and still flourishing in the greatest plenty; and yet Matuara Mahow was suffered to die"<sup>2</sup>. It seems clear that, if Vancouver interpreted the reproach aright, its basis was that the deceased king had been successful in maintaining the food supply of the island, and so should have been allowed to live. In that case, it may point to some miraculous powers possessed by him (it is in connection with that possibility that I have quoted Ellis's statement) or to his diligent and successful appeals to the gods, or to his care in supervising cultivation and, when necessary, restraining consumption. In some way or other the satisfactory state of the crops was credited to him. We may compare with this a reference by the London missionaries to an attempt of a fleet of Tahitian canoes to get out to sea, which, after several efforts, had to be abandoned. The missionaries say that the Tahitians were easily made to believe that the cause of their miscarriages was commonly the anger of the gods, or of the king. This failure of the fleet was attributed to the anger of the king, and it was said that so long as he was angry, the wind would continue to be against them; so in order to appease him, they offered him a young pig by way of atonement<sup>3</sup>. I think this is a case of supernatural control of the weather attributed to a king.

I have found no definite information on the subject of control exercised by a Society Island king or chief over his subjects, or by any consultative body, in connection with the production of food. Ellis, however, in discussing the character of Pomare I,

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, pp. 107 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Vancouver, vol. I, pp. 118 sq.

<sup>3</sup> L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. III, p. 185.



says that he laboured diligently to multiply the resources of the island, and improve the condition of the people, and his adherents were always well furnished with all that the island afforded. The uncultivated sides of the mountains, and the low flat sandy parts of the shore, seldom tilled by the natives, were reclaimed by his industry; and many extensive groves of coconut trees in Tahiti and Eimeo, which the people say were planted by him, remained as monuments of his efforts. In these labours he endeavoured to infuse his own spirit into the bosoms of his followers and to animate them by his example, usually labouring with them, and planting with his own hands many of the trees<sup>1</sup>. Pomare II apparently did not follow his father's example in these matters<sup>2</sup>.

Ari'i Taimai, in enumerating the elements that constituted the power of a head chief in the Society Islands, includes the right to impose a *rahui* or taboo, which she specially defines as having been essential<sup>3</sup>. It was a great exercise of authority, was more than royal in its claims, and might last a year or more<sup>4</sup>. I do not know what she means by saying that it was more than royal in its claims, unless she is referring to the supernatural power by which its enforcement would be effected. It is a curious fact that I have found no information as to the imposition of taboos for the purpose of conserving the food supplies for the benefit of the people generally, except a statement by Moerenhout that certain foods were taboo in times of dearth, wild bananas being so sometimes in order that they might be left intact until the time of greatest want<sup>5</sup>; it can hardly be doubted that *rahui* would be established for purposes of this character. We have seen, however, how the imposition of an extensive *rahui* was a method of accumulating food for the benefit of a child of a great chief or king, examples of this having been given by the *rahui* ordained by Tavi and by Amo and Purea.

The *Duff* missionaries refer to the chief as the person who removed a taboo, this being done at a general feast<sup>6</sup>.

Davies, in his dictionary, gives a considerable number of words relating to these *rahui* or taboos, and I will refer to a few of them. *Rahui*: a prohibition or restriction laid on hogs, fruit, etc., by the king or chief. *Rahui potuaraa*: the great or

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. II, pp. 67 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 531.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, p. 323.



universal restriction by the chiefs. *Rahu*: a certain prayer or incantation used in laying a restriction on fruit, etc. *Umu-umu*: a restriction put on fishing on the coral reefs. *Faaavari*: to remove or abolish a restriction; see *rahui*. *Araroa*: the first hog taken to the king on taking off a restriction. *Totoe*: a piece of wood struck by a man when removing the *rahui*. Detailed conclusions must not be based on short dictionary definitions of terms; but so far as these definitions go, they suggest that it was only, or more especially, kings or chiefs who imposed *rahui*; that its imposition was accompanied by a prayer or incantation; that it was the king or chief who removed it; and that there was a physical act in the process of doing so. I am here talking of general taboos, and not of defensive taboos which individual people would put on their own property.

## HERVEY ISLANDS

In the Hervey island of Mangaia there were, as we have seen, the sacred kings, the secular kings, and what Gill calls the "rulers of food," of which latter the first was Mokoïro, to whom his grandfather, the god Rongo, gave the direction over food of all kinds. We know nothing of the duties of these rulers of food, though the list of them, supplied by Gill, indicates that they continued to be recognized as such up to modern times. We have seen a reference to the tying on to the heads of the canoes of a fishing fleet by the priests of Mokoïro of the protecting emblem of Mokoïro, stated to have been made by "the priest of all food," and that a man is mentioned who had the management of all great feasts, and "was supposed to make the food grow." Probably the former, and possibly the latter, was the "ruler of food" for the time being; but we have no other information as to his duties. Perhaps we have an indication of a triple office, in this case concentrated in one man, in the terms in which Tangiia was supposed to have submitted himself to Karika; and I think we have it in the story of the return to Aitutaki of Urirau, the descendant of Taruia, to claim the throne of the island, and his instalment, on his title being recognized, as "Divider of food, priest and protector of Avarua."

The name of Makitaka appears as a secular king in Gill's list of battles fought in Mangaia<sup>1</sup>. It is the last name but three in

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *S.L.P.* p. 224.



the list, and he evidently reigned in about the beginning of last century. The battle in which he was victorious, thus securing the throne, was followed by a "memorable famine," and at length it was declared by the priests that the gods willed that the chieftainship should pass to Pangemiro [whose name follows that of Makitaka in the list], so that food might again grow plentifully<sup>1</sup>. It appears from the list that Makitaka reigned for three years, and Gill tells us that during his chieftainship there was extreme scarcity of food<sup>2</sup>; so I gather that the famine was a severe and prolonged one, and that the cause of the trouble would be climatic, and not merely failure on the part of the king to supervise food supply adequately. The famine itself seems to have been attributed to him, and if this was so, it follows that his failure had been due either to want of a power in himself to control the weather, or to his not using his influence in the matter with the gods, or perhaps the lack of the necessary influence. It is evident in that case, not only that the responsibility for the famine was attributed to him, but that his failure was in matters supernatural, and not merely in control of cultivation and consumption.

I do not know whether Gill is referring to the Hervey Islands generally, or only to Mangaia, when he says that an unusual luxuriance of growth in the food plantations portended death. "The saying is, 'E mou Avaiki tena,' i.e. 'it is also a crop for spiritland' (portends a crop for the reaper Death)"<sup>3</sup>. I am unable to suggest an explanation of this belief; but I may point out that the deaths expected would probably be those of chiefs, and if this was so the belief pointed in some way to the association of the chiefs with the crops.

I find no information as to human control of food, except a statement by Moss that in Rarotonga, whilst the head of a family had absolute authority over the land, it carried with it the obligation to support the family, and could not be diverted from that use<sup>4</sup>. In one of the stories about the voyager Iro (the Hiro of Tahiti), it is said that he did many things whilst living in Rarotonga; he held festivities, and placed his taboo on the land, and performed prayers for food and numerous other deeds<sup>5</sup>. Assuming that this statement was in accord with relatively recent practices, we may gather that a chief would not only pray for good harvests, but would also take active

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *L.S.I.* pp. 325 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, pp. 20 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Savage, *J.P.S.* vol. XXVI, p. 54.



measures to see that his people did what was needful to protect themselves from food shortage.

## MARQUESAS

The Marquesan deified mortals called *atua* claimed the title and attributes of the deity, not through professional inspiration, or possession by a supernatural power, but in their own right of godship, and, among their other alleged powers, were those of controlling the elements, imparting fruitfulness to the productions of the earth, or smiting them with blasting and sterility<sup>1</sup>.

I have found no information as to any system of supervision of food production, but Tautain tells us of its storage and preservation. He refers to the *ma*, or fermented breadfruit, which formed the food of the seasons when there was no fruit, and entered compulsorily in the making of the daily *popoi* [meal] even during the harvest, and he describes the pits in which this breadfruit was stored away. Besides the family pits, there were also collective pits belonging to a whole valley, and near these lived the guardians. These pits were filled by the order of the chiefs when, at the time of a good harvest, positive signs or omens or predictions made them believe a dearth was more or less near. The chiefs went round the valley, selected the heaviest laden breadfruit trees, and those having the best fruit, on the different properties, and put an '*ahui* or *kahui* [the equivalent of the Tahitian *rahu*] on these trees. The harvest was then gathered in, as the fruits reached maturity, and the gathered fruit was transformed into *ma*, and buried in the pit. When the dearth came, distribution was made, as it was needed, by people whose special office it was to do so. *Ma*, if well looked after, would last very many years<sup>2</sup>.

The fullest account of the practice of laying taboos to restrain food consumption is that given by des Vergnes. He says the chiefs could interdict the use of a food or drink by their subjects completely, and for an unlimited time, and no one would dream of raising the slightest complaint, or violating the taboo<sup>3</sup>. The taboo was divided into several classes, some of which, being measures of precaution, might be called economic<sup>4</sup>, and these are the taboos with which we are now

<sup>1</sup> Stewart, vol. I, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Tautain, *L'Anthro.* vol. VIII, pp. 549 sq. Cf. Baessler, *N.S.B.* pp. 208 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 721.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 727.



concerned. The object of these economic taboos, which were called *ahui*, was to prevent the too rapid destruction of an edible commodity, or one useful for any other purpose. If the quantity of *mei* or breadfruit was diminishing in a district, the chief had the right to lay a taboo on all or part of the fruit-trees for twenty months, in order to give the trees time to regain strength. In the same way, if fish was beginning to fail, the taboo was laid on one part of the bay in order to allow the fish to spawn without being disturbed and so replenish the sea in the neighbourhood of the inhabited places. During these *ahui* the people ate *ma* [fermented breadfruit] instead of *mei*, and fished in the open sea, or another part of the territory. When a great feast was being prepared, especially a *mau* [feast on an anniversary of death] an *ahui* was sometimes laid on pigs two or three years in advance, in order to provide for the feast, and during that time a man might not kill for his personal use or give or sell a single pig, on pain of being banned by all the inhabitants of his district, and might not even kill for a stranger of authority. Similarly an *ahui* was sometimes laid on the *ute* or paper-mulberry (used for making *tapa*) when it was failing, and might last for five years<sup>1</sup>.

Langsdorff says that at the time when the greatest number of the breadfruit trees were still unripe almost all fish were taboo and might not be eaten; it was thought that if this law were infringed all the young breadfruit would fall off the trees, and there would be a famine. As soon as the breadfruit trees were ripe this fish taboo ceased, anyone might catch as much as he liked, and the greatest abundance reigned. Langsdorff says he cannot explain the connection between breadfruit and fishing, but suggests the possibility that at this time of the season the fish might be spawning or unsound<sup>2</sup>. If the fish were in fact spawning or unsound at this time of the year, this might be the real reason for the taboo; but the evolution of the deterrent idea that by catching fish people would ruin their breadfruit need not, I think, be surprising to a student of Polynesia.

There are a number of other references to these food taboos, some writers saying they were imposed by the chiefs<sup>3</sup>, some saying it was done by the priests<sup>4</sup>, others associating it with

<sup>1</sup> Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, pp. 730 sq.    <sup>2</sup> Langsdorff, vol. I, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. IV, p. 10. Du Petit-Thouars, vol. II, p. 355. Radiguet, vol. XXIII, p. 607.    <sup>4</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 314. Krusenstern, vol. I, p. 172.



both these classes<sup>1</sup>, and again others not saying who could do it<sup>2</sup>. Probably in many cases the chiefs were the priests. Ellis, in referring to the power of every man to place a taboo on his own property, says that it operated as powerfully upon himself as on anyone else, and that during its continuance he dare not appropriate to his own use the smallest portion of the prohibited article<sup>3</sup>. This is a surprising statement; but one would imagine that if the man wanted to use the article he could remove the taboo.

## PAUMOTU

I have told the story of the arrival of Anua Motua in the Paumotuan island of Mangareva, the retreat from there of Taratahi, the reigning king of the island, and Anua Motua's proclamation of himself as king. Caillot tells of a tradition, according to which there was a terrible famine in the land, and Anua Motua's son Teangiangi, who was also high priest, attributed the famine and the suffering it entailed to the driving out of Taratahi<sup>4</sup>. The story is not an example of the ability of a chief to produce plenty or the reverse either by his own inherent powers or by supplication to the gods; but it points to a belief that famine could arise as the result of his wrongdoing. There was a belief that dearths and famines were produced by Noumati, said to have been a son of Anua Motua, and they were actually called *noumati*<sup>5</sup>. According to one of the French missionaries, a Mangarevan chief asked the missionaries to bless a plant of *pauri*, from the bark of which cloth was made, which they did, on condition that its growth would not be attributed to the native god. After this the missionaries, by request, blessed a number of other plants, and ended with a blessing on all the productions of the island<sup>6</sup>. This is, of course, only a mission episode; but it must be remembered that the people would regard the missionaries as chiefs, or priests, or both, similar to their own chiefs and priests, except that they worshipped another and more powerful god, and it is in the light of this conception of the situation that we must regard the belief that the missionaries, by performing a ceremony, could bring about fertility. On another occasion one of the missionaries dug a well, the people laughing at him and

<sup>1</sup> Jardin, p. 196. Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 727. Lisiansky, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Vincendon-Dumoulin, *I.M.* p. 263. De Ginoux, vol. IV, p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. IX, p. 145.



saying he would never find water, or that if he did so it would only be sea water. When water was found and proved to be fresh they were much impressed and they afterwards called the missionary "the man who gives water"<sup>1</sup>. We are not told to what the people attributed this mysterious success, but there can be little doubt that they would credit the missionary with some supernatural power.

Caillot says that the king of Mangareva, in the exercise of his authority over his subjects, generally limited himself to prescribing for them certain forced labour respecting fishing, clearing land, and making canoes and weapons, and that in other respects he left them at peace<sup>2</sup>. I think, from the context of this statement, that Caillot is referring to what I may call communal work, and if so his reference to fishing and clearing land probably points to supervision of food supply. Cuzent refers to family and common store-pits for breadfruit, and says that when the latter were being filled each of the inhabitants of the bay was obliged to furnish a certain quantity gathered from his land<sup>3</sup>. If there was a dearth, or the harvest was insufficient, the district chiefs assembled, convoked the inhabitants, and in their presence opened the [communal] breadfruit pit; and as the *popoi* [fermented breadfruit] was handed out, the chief delivered to each family the quantity he thought necessary to feed it for a week<sup>4</sup>.

I may refer, as regards the tabooing of food supply, to the story of the expedition in the Pacific of Anua Motua and his family, which has already been told. It was said that in this expedition they planted in the best land they could find, and that the high priest imposed a taboo upon the plants until the next harvest. In the meantime the people were to feed as best they could on shell-fish, fish and the slender resources—a few birds, roots and herbs—they had seen on the island<sup>5</sup>. One of the French missionaries tells us (1839) that the increase of the population of Mangareva, together with the insufficient number of breadfruit trees, having given rise to a fear of famine, the king forbade the selling of any fruit to strangers<sup>6</sup>. Smith provides an example of a taboo imposed in preparation for a ceremony. Mateoa, the king of Mangareva, having decided that his son should be ordained a priest, ordered the collection

<sup>1</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. ix, pp. 19 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cuzent, *V.I.G.* p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 60 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XIII, p. 233.



from all the islands of the Mangarevan cluster of a large quantity of food, which was to be deposited in a "granary" in the earth 24 feet long and 75 feet in circumference. [I suppose this means it was a circular pit of 24 feet diameter.] All that amount of food passed into the hands of the chief priest, whose duty it was to offer it to the minor god Teangiangi, in order that the latter might present it to the chief god Tu. It was rigorously ordained that no kind of fish was to be caught in certain different parts of the sea, so that there might be more for the day of ordination of the king's son, which was to take place four months afterwards. Curiously enough, Smith does not tell us what became of this great quantity of food; he describes the ordination ceremony in detail, but there is no mention of the offering of all the food to the god, or of the holding of a big feast<sup>1</sup>.

#### NIUE

Turner says that in 1845 there was no king in the island of Niue. In olden days they had kings; but as they were high priests also, and were supposed to cause the food to grow, the people became angry with them in times of scarcity and killed them. One after another of them was killed; therefore no one wished to be king, so afterwards affairs were managed by councils of heads of families<sup>2</sup>. This points to a relatively recent change and we must not regard it as evidence that democratic rule by representative councils was in Polynesia a system of later date than that of autocratic rule by kings or chiefs. I have found no information as to practical methods of preserving food supply, except Thomson's statement that the land was common property of the septs, represented by their heads, and that the junior members of a sept came to their laird when in need of land for planting<sup>3</sup>.

#### ROTUMA

I propose to draw attention to a few matters connected with the *sou*, or sacred king, of Rotuma, and the *mua*, who was the chief priest. The Rotuman year was a period of only six months approximately from January to June, and from July to December<sup>4</sup>. The inauguration of the *sou* took place in the month of

<sup>1</sup> *J.P.S.* vol. XXVII, pp. 121-4.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, pp. 304 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson, *S.I.* p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 461. Cf. Hale, pp. 105 sq.



Noatauta<sup>1</sup>, which was the first month of their six-month year<sup>2</sup>. After a preliminary feast, which was supposed to purify the *sou*, was held the *tofi* feast, which was the biggest feast of the year, but I will only refer to a few of the features of this feast and that which followed it. The *sou* was stuffed out with mats to as large a size as possible, and dressed in the official garments of his office<sup>3</sup>. I must say as to this that it was a special duty of a *sou* to get fat<sup>4</sup>, as indeed it was with great chiefs of some of the other islands. In the kava drinking ceremony kava was first poured out to the various dead *sou*, and it was next offered to the living *sou* who was being inaugurated. Another feast, held almost immediately after the first, took place on the top of the hill where all the *sou* were buried. Here the kava was again poured out to the dead *sou* and presented to the living *sou*, after which he had to eat of all the grasses on the hill<sup>5</sup>. Gardiner says that the appointment of a *sou* to office was for a term of six months [that is, till the end of the Rotuman year]; but he could continue in office as long as he liked, or as long as he could get together the great masses of food which he was required to provide<sup>6</sup>. Dillon says the appointment was for six months, but that it might be extended<sup>7</sup>. According to Hale and Lesson, the *sou* generally held office for twenty months<sup>8</sup>. Allen says it was for six or twelve months<sup>9</sup>. This brings us to the three feasts held in the last month of the Rotuman year (six months), when the term of office of the *sou* ought strictly to cease. An interesting feature of these feasts is that the *sou* was not present. He was represented at the first feast by the *mua*. This feast was held on a hill where the *mua* were buried, and at the feast the house over the grave of the *mua* was always re-thatched, the old thatch being equally divided to ensure the possessors a fruitful season. The *mua*, who alone might enter the house, carried into it a great quantity of food that had been supplied and none of which might afterwards be taken out of it again, this feast differing from all others in this respect, and as he did so, the old people, both men and women, walked in procession round the house, while the following prayer for a fruitful season was chanted, each fruit being mentioned by name:

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 463.

<sup>4</sup> Mangeret, vol. II, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 464.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 461.

<sup>7</sup> Dillon, vol. II, p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> Hale, p. 105. Lesson, *Voy.* vol. II, p. 432.

<sup>9</sup> Allen, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 577.



Be fruitful, mighty spirit, *mua*;  
 Be fruitful to the *fava* tree, *mua*;  
 Be fruitful to us, oh, oh, oh.  
 A fruitful *ifi* and a fruitful *fava*;  
 Be fruitful to us, oh, etc.

Gardiner says the language of the chant was antique, and was nearly forgotten. The third and fourth lines were repeated with the names for all other fruits substituted for the *ifi* and *fava*. There were two more lines at the end, of which he could not get a translation<sup>1</sup>. I do not know what happened at the second feast; but at the third feast the *fangata* [one of the bodyguard of the *sou*] personated the *sou*, and was dressed in his official garment; when this was over he returned this garment to the *sou*, and at the same time smeared him plentifully with turmeric, after which the *fangata* retired by the back door, and on the following day the people had to bring a big pile of food to the *sou*<sup>2</sup>. Gardiner says that Tangaroa was the god of the *sou* and the *mua*, and that to him, and in his honour, all the feasts and dances were directed, and the prayer for fruitfulness at the feast of the *mua*, which was only sung by the old people, as a mark of great reverence, was a prayer to him<sup>3</sup>.

In view of the evidence of the custom for the *sou* to continue their reigns for more than six months, although, apparently, their appointment was nominally only for that period, and of the ceremonies at the expiration of the six months year, we may, I think, believe that these ceremonies took place at the end of six months in the case of a *sou* who did not relinquish his office then, and the performances described may possibly be associated with the ideas and practices which Frazer discusses under the heading of *The Dying God*<sup>4</sup>. I propose to attempt to explain them from the point of view of this possibility, but it must be understood that this is all I am doing, and that I recognize that the suggestions which my explanations involve are highly speculative.

We have seen that the *sou*, or sacred king of Rotuma, was regarded as a kind of god. I have already discussed the question of the separation of the sacred and secular rules, as found in Rotuma and some of the other islands of Polynesia, and have explained my view that the twofold offices had originally been united in one person, who was the great high priest and secular

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, pp. 464 sq.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 464.  
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 467.      <sup>4</sup> Frazer, *G.B.* vol. IV.



king of all his people, but had since been separated. The *sou* of the distant past probably continued, after the secular rule passed from them, to act as royal high priests, most sacred in person, and charged with the duty of performing the sacred offices on important occasions and there is evidence that in historical times the *sou* continued to perform these duties<sup>1</sup>.

Turning now to my speculations as to the meaning of the performances at these ceremonies, I suggest that the stuffing out of the *sou* with mats on his inauguration ceremony at the beginning of the six months was intended to emphasize his possession of the necessary physical qualities, including corpulence, which was in some other islands of Polynesia associated with their great chiefs or kings; it showed him as a man physically qualified for the office that was about to be conferred upon him. The reason for his eating of all the grasses on the hill where his sacred predecessors had been buried might be that he should thereby absorb some of their sanctity and supernatural power, and perhaps there was the magical conception symbolizing a plentiful supply of the products of the soil. The nominal limiting of the period of his reign to six months may have had its origin in a practice of insuring that it should not outlast his retention of his religious and physical capacity, for, though six months seems to be, from this point of view, a short period, it was the period of the Rotuman year, and it may be that the king had to retire nominally at the end of each year. Passing now to the ceremonies at the end of the six months, there is the fact that the *sou* was not present at any of them. Why was this? Was he supposed to be ill or dead? It is said that at the first ceremony he was *represented* by the *mua* or chief priest; but it would be unsafe to assume that Gardiner means that this cleric *personated* the *sou*, as the *mua* would be the natural person to preside in the conduct of the ceremony in the absence of the *sou*. At the third ceremony, however, the *sou* seems to have been actually personated by a member of his bodyguard, who for this purpose wore his official garment. I draw attention, in connection with this, to Frazer's discussion of a practice of periodical abdication of a king for a short time, his place being filled by a more or less nominal sovereign, and to examples given by him of such abdications which only lasted a few days<sup>2</sup>. This personator of the *sou* then went to him, returned his

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, *G.B.* vol. iv, chap. v.



official garment, smeared him with the sacred, or semi-sacred, turmeric, perhaps for the purpose of resuscitating him<sup>1</sup> and then retired humbly by the back door, thus perhaps emphasizing the fact that his own brief reign was over, and that he was again only a servant of the *sou*.

The question of the possible interpretation to be put upon the practices at these ceremonies has a special interest of its own; but it also has, I think, a direct bearing upon our present subject, seeing that it apparently points to the *mua*, and presumably the *sou*, as having some power in connection with the elements and the fertility of the crops. It may be noticed that the chant seems to have been sung, not by the *mua*, but by the other people, and was apparently addressed to him<sup>2</sup>, even though the ultimate recipient of the prayer may have been the god Tangaroa; and if it was so, it appears that some duty lay upon the *mua* as high priest with reference to the crops. If this was so, it almost follows that the deified or semi-deified *sou*, whose officer the *mua* was, would be supposed to be still more closely associated in some way or other with fertility and sufficiency of food supply.

As regards the actual control of cultivation, Gardiner says that the *ngangaja* [chief] could call out the district for fish-driving or any work in which all were interested, and could fine anyone who did not come. If the walls or paths of his district were in disrepair he ordered out all the *hoang* [families] interested to do the work; he also had to keep a watch to see that a proper number of coconut trees were planted, and that all the *popoi* land was cultivated<sup>3</sup>. So also the *pure* [head] of each *hoang* divided out the bush-land year by year to the different households of the *hoang* for planting purposes, and saw to the cultivation of the land and planting of coconuts, etc., for the *hoang*; and on occasions, such as planting of the *popoi* land, he had power to call out all the members of the *hoang*<sup>4</sup>. I find no mention of any system of checking consumption by means of a taboo.

<sup>1</sup> Smearing with turmeric was a practice widely followed in Polynesia under circumstances that suggest that it was probably often intended to give strength and vitality.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that it was the dead *mua* that were addressed, though Gardiner's introduction of the word "spirit" in the singular, and not in the plural, would hardly be consistent with this. If this possibility is correct, it obviously weakens my argument.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. XXVII, p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 484.



## FOTUNA

Bourdin says that in Fotuna the king, as the tabernacle of the great god of the island, was supposed to have divine wisdom in handling affairs, could dispose of the elements, calm storms, make or stop rain, give growth to plants and maturity to fruits, and health to the sick<sup>1</sup>. He refers to an occasion when, the sky being covered with thick clouds, the king said to the crowd: "I announce on the part of the supreme god, whose tabernacle I am, that it will soon rain"; but, unfortunately, his prediction proved inaccurate<sup>2</sup>.

I find no information as to control of food production; but as regards consumption Smith refers to the king's right to establish a taboo on various objects, and says that no one dare violate it, as this would cause the anger of the gods. The taboo was generally applied on great occasions in concert and with the approbation of the chiefs. They would taboo pigs, coconuts, breadfruits, yams, etc., in anticipation of a feast<sup>3</sup>. Then again, we are told of a big annual feast, with its superabundant supply of food, at which, when the people had eaten enough, the king, in order to avoid a dearth, put a taboo on all the food, and did not raise it till the people had to go, when [in accordance with the widely spread Polynesian custom] the remaining eatables were divided and the people all went home [carrying their shares with them]<sup>4</sup>.

## TOKELAU

In Fale, the island of the Fakaofu cluster of the Tokelau group in which the people lived, they were under a strict taboo against occupying any of the other islets, this being necessary for the protection of the food that grew there. Apparently each family had its plot in these islets, but there were stringent regulations against any unfair or uneven distribution of the limited amount of food supply which they produced, and the people went off in a body, at a time fixed by the old men, to collect the food<sup>5</sup>. I do not know whether this is only a relatively recent regulation. It is said that the king acted like a father, and apportioned all the food<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bourdin, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. I, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Newell, *A.A.A.S.* vol. VI, p. 604.

<sup>4</sup> Bird, *Ausland*, vol. XXXVII, p. 418.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 540.

<sup>6</sup> Bourdin, p. 465.



## ELLICE ISLANDS

In the Ellice island of Funafuti the people sometimes gave an opportunity to the coconuts to grow and the fishing grounds to rest by abandoning temporarily their permanent villages and moving to other localities, where they had duplicate villages<sup>1</sup>. I do not know whether or not this was an old institution. They had a drastic method of reducing consumption in times of scarcity; they made war on "certain families," who—men, women and children—were either slain or driven out without food or water in canoes to perish at sea.

## EASTER ISLAND

I must refer to two matters relating to the Miru people of Easter Island. We have seen that some of these people, and especially Ngaara, their head chief, had a wonderful supernatural power of increasing all food supply, and especially of producing chickens. According to Thomson, the native priests professed to have influence with the spirits and to gain, by occult means, their aid and goodwill for the protection of property and crops<sup>2</sup>.

## TIKOPIA

Rivers, after discussing some of the plant *atua* of Tikopia and certain practices with reference to them, gives us information of this character with reference to the coconut *atua* of one of the groups of people. He refers to the power of their chief to put a taboo on the coconut as food, the taboo lasting for a period which might extend for several months. He says, however, that this taboo was only imposed when the trees were not bearing well, and was usually maintained till the nuts which had dropped from the trees had begun to sprout and were ready to be transplanted<sup>3</sup>. It seems to me that the purpose of this taboo was probably economic rather than religious. Rivers then goes on to say that the general taboo imposed by the chief of this group on coconuts was but one example of a widespread practice among the Tikopians. Any chief might taboo a special place in order that the trees might

<sup>1</sup> Hedley, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Thomson, p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. 1, pp. 318 sq.



grow to a proper size before the fruit was taken, and anyone might initiate such a taboo which was later confirmed by a chief. Anyone who infringed such a taboo would fall sick, perhaps with widespread pain, or perhaps with swelling of the body<sup>1</sup>. D'Urville speaks of the right of taboo [that is, a general district taboo] as being one of the prerogatives of the four principal chiefs of the island<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. V, p. 119.



## CHAPTER XLII

### TRIBUTE AND COGNATE MATTERS

#### PRELIMINARY

THE situation, as between a chief or other head of a social group and his subjects, with reference to their duty of rendering him tribute or first-fruits and providing for his wants on the one hand, and a custom for him to hand over what he received, or a considerable portion of it, to other people on the other, is, at all events in some cases, confused and difficult to define. I have already, in my preliminary observations on the subject of the "Powers of Chiefs," drawn attention to the fact that what were apparently arbitrary acts of chiefs in compulsory seizing of the goods of their subjects may in some cases have been informal methods of enforcing tribute, whilst some of them may have been connected with general communism in property (a matter on which I have since quoted evidence by writers), the head of the group appropriating things when he wanted them. I think many of the acts of this character to which I shall refer in the following pages may be regarded as being probably based on rights equivalent to the right to tribute, but some of them may come under the category of either arbitrary conduct or perhaps communism. I shall, however, suggest that practices of distribution by chiefs of food and other things which they had received may in some cases have been based on ideas of common ownership, the chief distributing out of his abundance among his own people.

I must distinguish between tribute rendered by the members of a social group to its chief or head and that imposed by conquerors upon those whom they had conquered. I am here dealing only with the former of these; but the character of tribute is not always made clear by writers, and it is possible that there may be, here and there, some doubt in this respect as to the character of the tribute referred to by the writers whom I quote. It was a common practice in some islands for conquerors to fortify their ascendancy over the people they had



defeated by suitable matrimonial alliances, by which their successors became members of the ruling families of the latter; and in this way they might, I imagine, acquire a social right to the tribute they afterwards exacted.

### SAMOA

Pritchard says it was a maxim among the Samoans that a chief could not steal. He was merely regarded as *taking* anything he wanted from his people, and his own immediate followers would be rather flattered than otherwise to think that anything they possessed was coveted by him<sup>1</sup>. Pritchard also refers to the ancient custom which ordained the contributions of food to a chief, but says that they were contingent upon his active participation in the labours of his tribe, taking the lead in these matters, so as to stimulate exertion by others. An inactive indolent chief who failed in this would have but little food carried to him by the land-owners, and a subordinate or near relative whose activity or skill attracted attention would become the actual leader and would receive the contributions of food. He says the duty of supplying the chiefs with food rested with the *tulafale*, but points out that it was customary for food *formally* [my italics] presented to the chiefs to be shared by them afterwards with the people<sup>2</sup>. He is evidently referring here to ceremonial feasts. Churchward says that the advantages of a [family] name were very much counterbalanced by the duties and responsibilities connected with it, the least of which was the housing and feeding of relations, however remote, whenever they demanded it, and principal expenditure in entertaining visitors<sup>3</sup>. According to Stair, the *faleupolu* [middle classes] supplied the chiefs with food, receiving property in return<sup>4</sup>. We are told by one of the French missionaries that the people paid great honour to the chiefs and sometimes, when it pleased them, brought to a chief a little basket of taro or a fish; but this was all the tax that was paid<sup>5</sup>. Pratt in his dictionary gives the word '*aialii*' as meaning to supply a chief with food and otherwise to assist him in expectation of getting property in return. Stuebel supplies various fragments of information. He says that a *matai* [the head of a family] had to provide his family with provisions, which he on his part had received from the *matai sili* [the head of the larger group of

<sup>1</sup> Pritchard, pp. 104 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 410 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Churchward, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> Stair, p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. XLIV, p. 368.



which the family was a section] out of the provisions which the whole village had cultivated<sup>1</sup>. I think he may be referring here to the distribution and redistribution of communal food. He says there were two things for which the *tualafale* [he calls them *faleupolu*; but he uses this term as synonymous with *tulafale*] came to their chiefs—mats and food<sup>2</sup>. There was a system under which a *tulafale* supplied a chief with food, etc., and got mats in exchange<sup>3</sup>. Stuebel refers to the case of a related chief and *tulafale*, of whom the latter had adopted the child of the former. The chief proved to be little esteemed in his village on account of his poverty, so the *tulafale* and his family gave all they received to the child's family, in order that those things might serve to win the love of the whole village for the chief<sup>4</sup>; from which we gather that generosity by a chief to his subjects was necessary for winning their esteem. An example is also given of a chief who was expecting visitors of his own from another district, and who commanded one of his *tulafale* to provide a pig, and another to bring in other things needed for the guests; but he afterwards gave them mats in return<sup>5</sup>. Stuebel tells of a case in which a subject of a great chief had caught a shark, and did not give it to the chief, although the latter was about to entertain the German consul, and so needed contributions of food, and the chief punished him severely for not doing so<sup>6</sup>. He also, in referring to the succession of a chief to a great title, says that afterwards the *tulafale* saw to the provisions, which they brought to the chief, morning and evening<sup>7</sup>.

This evidence points, in a general undefined way, to a mutual system between chiefs and other heads of groups and their subjects of giving and receiving. There were in fact undefined, but well understood, customs of give and take of this character, and I may say that mats, which were in a way a sort of currency or medium of exchange, entered largely into the transactions. A chief would pay his subjects for food and other things supplied to him, and services rendered, in various ways, and among other things with mats, which would be retained by them as riches, whilst, on the other hand, on certain occasions, such as marriages, the chief would require large supplies of mats, which would be provided by his under-chiefs and *tulafale*,

<sup>1</sup> Stuebel, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 122 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 156 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 96; cf. pp. 121 sq., 127 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 107, 126 sq.



they in their turn collecting some of them from the *faleupolu* families of which they were the official heads; and so these things circulated backwards and forwards between the chiefs and their people. I cannot go into the details of all this in this book; but the situation is summed up shortly by Turner when he says that to some extent the heads of families were the bankers of the chief. His fine mats almost all went to them, and other property too; but they again were ready with a supply, whenever he wished to draw upon them, whether for fine mats, food or other property<sup>1</sup>.

According to Wilkes (1845), first-fruits *used to be* [my italics] offered to chiefs<sup>2</sup>. I have found no other evidence of any formal periodical rendering of tribute or first-fruits to a chief in Samoa; but there are one or two incidental references to the latter. One story is about the visit of Ta'e-o-Tangaroa, the first divine *tuimanu'a*, to his sister, who lived in Fiji; it tells how he prepared and planted her land with breadfruit, coconut, banana, taro, yams, etc., all of which grew abundantly, thus producing a great quantity of food. He said that they [his sister and her people] were to be free to use everything on the land, except that no breadfruit was to be eaten until the first-fruits of it had been taken to the *tufiti* [king of Fiji]; and this injunction was obeyed<sup>3</sup>. According to another story, a Manu'an chief was entitled to the first-fruits of the *ape* [a species of taro], and a woman who, yielding to a longing for it during her pregnancy, ate some of it, was, with her husband, driven away by the chief<sup>4</sup>. We are told of a cannibal Malietoa, who had his feast of first-fruits, held at Malie [the home of the Malietoa in Tuamasanga], at which people collected from all Samoa, in order to be devoured by the Malietoa and his companions; but who gave up cannibalism on his son's taking the place of a Savai'i victim<sup>5</sup>. I do not know whether we are to understand that in this case the "first-fruits" were human victims only or whether other food was offered also. We may, I think, assume that only a limited number of human victims was devoured. I have referred, in the chapter on "Matrilineal Descent," to the Manu'an tale of the two parents who by their "will" decreed that their eldest son was to have the first share, and that his brothers were to

<sup>1</sup> Turner, pp. 175 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Fraser, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. XXIX, pp. 387 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Fraser, *J.P.S.* vol. IX, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXVIII, p. 157.



present him with offerings on days of work, and to bring him first-fruits<sup>1</sup>. I think it is clear that this means that they were to regard him as their head chief. It is said that in Samoa [perhaps only, or more especially, in Manu'a] the people brought to the titular chief the first bonito caught in a new boat and the first [bonito?] fish of the season<sup>2</sup>.

## TONGA

G. Forster says of the king [he means the *tuitonga*] of Tonga that he did not seem to exact anything from the people which, by depriving them of the indispensable wants of nature, could make them miserable<sup>3</sup>; I gather from this that he made exactions, though only to a certain extent. J. R. Forster says that he never saw the chiefs [he is apparently not speaking of the superior chiefs] take any goods or fruits from the inferior people, in order to give them to his [Forster's] party; nor did they rob the people of the things they exchanged for various articles<sup>4</sup>. He refers to an inferior chief who had to deliver all the presents he had received to, apparently, a superior chief; and says this custom was practised by all the other chiefs<sup>5</sup>. Labillardière says that he had several times seen chiefs take possession openly of property belonging to other people, but this did not affect the gaiety of their disposition<sup>6</sup>; by which he means, I gather, that it was an acknowledged practice. According to d'Entrecasteaux, the chiefs spoiled their inferiors at will<sup>7</sup>. Veeson says the chiefs exercised an arbitrary power over the lower orders and had everything belonging to them in their power, their sub-officers taking these people's things without ceremony as the chief might need. However scanty might be the provisions of the people, they were required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they were often obliged to eat plantain root for a wretched sustenance, or resort to the chief and beg for food. Even in time of scarcity a chief would send round his attendants to order food to be ready dressed for him within a limited time, he thus laying out a store for himself and his household, and leaving the others to get what they could<sup>8</sup>. Hamilton records that the king of Namuka

<sup>1</sup> Pratt, *R.S.N.S.W.* vol. xxiv, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 198 *note* 1 (quoting von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. xiv, p. 25); cf. Krämer, *S.I.* vol. II, p. 195 and *note* 3.

<sup>3</sup> Forster, *Voy.* vol. I, p. 477.

<sup>4</sup> Forster, *Obs.* p. 379.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 369 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Labillardière, vol. II, p. 177.

<sup>7</sup> D'Entrecasteaux, vol. I, p. 309.

<sup>8</sup> Veeson, pp. 100 sq.



[apparently of the *tuitonga* family—perhaps *tuitonga*] went on shore to collect tribute, and when on shore distributed amongst his subjects the presents he had received from Hamilton's party with a liberality worthy of a great prince<sup>1</sup>. D'Urville noticed as regards three chiefs [at that time the three most powerful chiefs in Tongatabu] that they immediately hid the articles he gave them, so that the other chiefs might not see them. D'Urville thought the reason was fear on the part of the three chiefs as to their power, which had been usurped<sup>2</sup>; but another possible explanation is a desire to escape a duty to distribute the gifts in the way recorded by Hamilton. Mariner, in giving a sketch of the day-to-day life of the chiefs, refers to their morning meal and kava drinking<sup>3</sup>. He then says it was usual for the chiefs to have another meal at about mid-day, when they received a number of presents of different kinds of provisions from their dependants and friends, which the *matabule* shared out. The chiefs had not, strictly speaking, any fixed times for meals, though these were generally in the morning, about noon, and again in the evening; it depended greatly upon how the chiefs were occupied, or what presents had been made to them. It often occurred that several presents came at the same time from different quarters, and then they had a feast; but, whatever they had, whether much or little, it was always shared out to all present, each having a portion, according to his rank<sup>4</sup>. Mariner, after referring to the principal annual *inaji* ceremony, at which first-fruits were offered to the *tuitonga*, of which I shall speak directly, refers to another offering made at some other time of the year, when the tributary chief might think proper, but generally when some article was in great plenty. The tribute levied at the time of the *inaji* was general and absolute; but that which was paid on the other occasion came more in the form of a present; but it was so established by old custom, that if it were omitted, this would amount to little less than actual rebellion. The practice of making presents to superior chiefs was very general and frequent. The higher class of chiefs generally made a present to the king [he is speaking of Finau; but his statement would probably be applicable to the secular kings generally] of hogs and yams about once a fortnight. These chiefs, at about the same time, received presents from those below them, and these

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. iv, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Mariner, vol. ii, p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 232.



last from others, and so on, down to the common people<sup>1</sup>. Waldegrave says there were no taxes, but the chiefs sent for that portion of the vassal's pigs or yams which he desired<sup>2</sup>. The king or chief under him would at any time send for a man's vegetables, poultry, pigs, etc., and, as I understand Waldegrave's meaning, might barter it with some one else for a price, which might be paid either to himself or the grower. If a present was made to the king [Finau] or a chief it was distributed among his followers, except that part which the chief allotted to himself<sup>3</sup>. According to Bays, the *matabule* brought pigs and yams to the king, and the same respect was paid by the lower orders to the *matabule*; thus the poor supported the chiefs, and the chiefs supplied the king's table<sup>4</sup>. West says that the *tuikanokubolu* received general tribute from the people through the chiefs; also that the chiefs claimed the service or property of their retainers and took their pigs, fowls, etc.<sup>5</sup> Young says that the chiefs might go into any of the houses of the people and take what they pleased<sup>6</sup>. One of the French missionaries tells us that the chiefs disposed of the people, employing them in their plantations and in making their canoes, etc., the workers going home in the evening, fasting, to their homes, when they found nothing to eat<sup>7</sup>. In Père A. C.'s dictionary I find the word *huhu* given as meaning, among other things, the teat, breast, milk; and he says the chiefs were called *huhu* because they were supposed to feed the *tuitonga*.

I think that we must accept Mariner's testimony as to the custom for a chief's people to supply him with food, and believe that a similar practice prevailed, as indicated by Bays, among *matabule*, for their food to be provided by their own people. Probably these provisions would not be confined to food supply; but the question arises what powers had the chiefs of raiding and confiscating the property of their subjects? G. Forster's statement indicates that the *tuitonga* was relatively gentle in the exercise of this prerogative and J. R. Forster's evidence points in the same direction as to the chiefs generally; and, as regards the latter, we might expect that a right of a superior chief to make demands against an inferior would be exercised also by the latter against his own people.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* vol. 1, p. 201 note; cf. vol. 11, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. 111, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> Bays, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> West, pp. 262 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Young, *S.W.* p. 264.

<sup>7</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xviii, p. 425.



According to Labillardière, the chiefs did seize their subjects' property, and I think that the evidence of d'Entrecasteaux, Veeson, Waldegrave, West, Young and the French missionaries, compels us to believe that the chiefs had very arbitrary powers of confiscation, and sometimes exercised them in a most oppressive way. On the other hand, we have Hamilton's reference to a chief's lavish distribution of presents received, d'Urville's possible indication of a duty to do this, Waldegrave's statement to the same effect, and Mariner's evidence as to the sharing by a chief of food when it was abundant. I think that the probable explanation of this that the people among whom the chiefs distributed these things were then more intimate relations, or members of their retinue and followers, and that the practice may well have had its origin in part in a system of common ownership within the group. The hiding by three chiefs of the articles given to them was probably an attempt to escape their social duty.

Passing now to formal tribute, I must refer to the great annual *inaji* ceremony performed in or about the month of October [that is, in the spring]. Mariner speaks of it as an offering of first-fruits to the *tuitonga*; but says that neglect of the ceremony would bring down the vengeance of the gods upon the people<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere he speaks of it as an offering to the gods in the person of the *tuitonga*<sup>2</sup>. Cook seems to have regarded it as a tribute to the *tuitonga*; but its religious importance is indicated by his statement that ten human victims had to be sacrificed, and that, if this were omitted, the deity would certainly destroy the *tuitonga*<sup>3</sup>. Veeson is apparently referring to this ceremony when he says that the people expressed their gratitude to the deity when they gathered their yams by offering to the *tuitonga*, the priest who personated him and interceded for them<sup>4</sup>. D'Urville says that first-fruits were given to the *tuitonga* at the *inaji*<sup>5</sup>. The London missionaries say it was held at the time of the ingathering of the yams, and was a kind of offering to the *tuitonga*<sup>6</sup>. Père A. C. in his dictionary says that the *tuitonga* held the highest rank as representative of the deity, and that in the month of October the first-fruits of the earth were offered to him<sup>7</sup>. Mariner

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Cook, vol. V, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> D'Urville, *Voy. pitt.* vol. II, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. I, pp. 320 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Père A. C., p. ix.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 168.

<sup>7</sup> Veeson, p. 152.



gives a detailed account of the ceremony, but I must only refer here to a few of its features. The object of the offering was to insure the favour and protection of the gods, especially with reference to the productions of the earth, of which the yams were the most important; and one of the *matabule* of the *tuitonga* addressed the gods generally, mentioning particularly the late *tuitonga* and the names of several others and thanking them for the prospect of so good a harvest and praying for a continuance of their beneficence in future. The amount of food provided for the ceremony, including other things besides yams, is described as being "incredible." All these were divided afterwards by one of the *matabule* of the *tuitonga*, about one quarter being allotted to the gods, and taken away by their priests, one half to Finau [the secular head chief] and the remainder to the *tuitonga*; and Mariner explains that the reason why the *tuitonga* had a smaller share than Finau was that he had not a quarter the number of dependants among whom to divide it<sup>1</sup>. It must be remembered that Mariner's account would be based upon what he saw in the northern islands under the two successive Finau chiefs, where the *tuitonga* was living practically as a refugee, and not in Tongatabu, and we must not take his account of proportional division as necessarily representing the practices of Tongatabu, more especially as the Finau chiefs' attitude towards the *tuitonga* was rather one of resistance to his superiority, and the influence of the latter at that time had waned largely. I may point out that the second Finau succeeded in persuading his subjects to abandon for the future this annual *inaji* ceremony of first-fruits, and the ground on which he did so was that, whilst on the one hand the ceremony was a very heavy tax on the people, on the other hand *tuitonga* "was of no use at all," and it was apparently this latter argument that induced the chiefs, *matabule*, and older members of society, who had religious scruples in the matter, to come round to Finau's views<sup>2</sup>.

I draw attention to the fact that this was not merely a rendering of tribute or first-fruits to a human ruler; it was a religious ceremony, in which thanks were given to the gods, and prayers offered to them for plentiful harvests in the future. It will also be noticed that the share allotted to the gods was taken by the priests, and that the shares of the *tuitonga* and

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. II, pp. 168-73.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 27 sq.



Finau were redistributed by them among their people; this would be consistent with Polynesian religious customs, according to which the priests often received the sacrifice themselves, and the offering, after the formal presentation of a part to the god, was often the subject of a sacrificial feast by those who made it. In this case the *tuitonga* and Finau apparently only distributed their portions among their own more closely associated groups, as otherwise the reference to the difference between the numbers of their dependants would be meaningless. Apparently everything was, in a sense at all events, offered nominally to the *tuitonga*; but I think that the underlying idea was, or had been, that the offering was all made to the gods, the *tuitonga*, as the great high priest, receiving it in their name and on their behalf. I suspect that, if a number of Tongans had been asked to whom the offering was in fact made—was it to the gods or to the *tuitonga*?—there would have been diverse, and perhaps confused replies. A confusion of ideas is perhaps seen in Finau's line of argument in favour of his proposal for discontinuing the ceremony. It is not stated that he contended that the gods were "of no use at all," nor can I imagine that he would have dared to say this, even if he had thought it; his point was that the *tuitonga* was of no use, and this suggests that the offering was, or had been, made to him as high priest, whose religious duty it was to supplicate the gods. I draw attention to these matters because of the side-light which they seem to throw upon the Polynesian custom of rendering tribute or first-fruits to the chiefs or other heads of social groups. In Polynesian war the head of a victorious party sometimes required from those whom he had defeated the payment of an annual tribute, which was probably a purely secular imposition; but I do not think that we must assume that tribute or first-fruits rendered by the members of a group to its head was in origin merely secular, though it may be that the religious basis upon which it had perhaps been founded had been forgotten, or partially so. I have already referred to the evidence pointing to the head of a social group as having been its natural high priest, who approached its tutelar god on its behalf; and I suggest that practices of rendering to him tribute or first-fruits may have been, at all events partly, in origin a sort of payment to him as the human representative of the gods, and for the performance of his highly important religious duties, though perhaps the practice had



in some cases dwindled down into a mere recognition of a human claim by the chief of a group upon his subjects.

## SOCIETY ISLANDS

A number of writers supply information as to the duty of the subjects of a Society Island chief to supply him with food and other things, and his power of confiscation from them, or examples of occasions on which this duty has been performed or the power exercised. I propose first to quote a few writers who give more or less full or consecutive information, or refer to certain additional specific points of interest; and then to give general references to writers, including possibly some whom I have previously quoted, who touch on the question in one way or another.

Ellis says that the regal establishment was maintained by the produce of the hereditary districts of the reigning family and the requisitions made upon the people<sup>1</sup>. The produce of the king's hereditary estates being seldom sufficient for the maintenance of his household, the deficiency was supplied from the different districts of the islands. The frequency, however, with which the inferior chiefs were required to bring provisions was neither fixed nor regular, but was governed by the number of the districts, or the necessities of the king's steward. Still there was a sort of tacit agreement between the king and chiefs as to the times when they should furnish his provisions, and the usage among them as to this was generally understood. Ellis, in speaking of the supplies which were provided, says that vegetables and roots, pigs, cloth for the dress of the king's servants, houses for his abode, and canoes, not only for himself, but also for those of his household, were furnished by the inhabitants of the islands<sup>2</sup>. I draw attention to this reference to "the inhabitants of the islands," and to the previous reference to "the people," because there can be no doubt that the supplies brought in by the chiefs would be to a large extent obtained by them from their own people. Ellis says that, when there was a deficiency of food for the king's followers or guests, a number of his servants went to the residence of a *ra'atira* [middle class land-owner] or farmer, and sometimes, without even asking, tied up the pigs that were fed near the dwelling, plundered the abode, ravaging like a band of lawless robbers the plantations or the gardens, and taking

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 116 sq.



away every article of food the poor oppressed labourer possessed. Sometimes they launched a fine canoe that might be lying near, and, loading it with their plunder, left the landowner destitute even of the means of subsistence; and as they were the king's servants he durst not complain<sup>1</sup>. Ellis says that the ancient laws of government required the poor industrious landholder or farmer to bring forth the produce of his garden or field for the use of the chiefs or *areoi*, whenever they might halt at his residence; and perhaps more people had been banished, or selected as sacrifices, for withholding these provisions than for all other crimes. To withhold food from the king or chiefs, when they entered a district, was considered a crime next to that of resisting the royal authority or declaring war against the king<sup>2</sup>. I must point out, as regards the reference to *areoi*, that the institutions of the *areoi*, those highly privileged strolling players, who went about from place to place, giving performances, songs, recitations and other exhibitions, were in fact closely connected with the chiefs as a class; and may say that Ellis's accounts of the plundering raids upon the people of these *areoi*<sup>3</sup> shows that they were similar to those his description of which has just been given.

Ellis, after referring again to the system of providing for the king's wants, and saying that no regular system of taxation prevailed<sup>4</sup>, says that, however abundant might be the supplies which he received, he was in general more necessitous than many of the chiefs. Applications from the chiefs for food, cloth, canoes and every other valuable article furnished by the people were so frequent and importunate that more than was barely sufficient for his own use seldom remained long in his possession. A present of food was usually accompanied by several hundred yards of native cloth, and a number of fine large double canoes; yet all the articles were often distributed among the chiefs and favourites on the very day they arrived. Indeed, according to Ellis, these people even extorted from the king promises in advance that he would give them articles of various sorts when next he received them; and a chief who regarded the king as under an obligation to him would secure from him a similar promise<sup>5</sup>.

Tyerman and Bennet say that the king's servants would

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 95 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 237 sq.; vol. III, pp. 129 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. III, pp. 127 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 128.



enter a person's house, seize a bundle of cloth, kill the largest pigs, take the best breadfruit and even pull up the posts of the house for firewood; and the *ra'atira* or master of the house could only look on, without saying a word<sup>1</sup>.

De Bovis says that the regular obligations of the inferior classes consisted in gathering together at certain periods in order to bring the chiefs presents consisting of alimentary commodities, clothes or useful instruments, and they generally vied with one another in this respect with a generous emulation. There was also forced labour; they were convoked in order to construct the chief's house, or repair it, or to surround it with a platform of stones suitable to his importance<sup>2</sup>. J. R. Forster says that, whenever the lower ranked people of Tahiti stole any valuable articles, the chiefs either seized the whole booty, or at least shared the spoils. They never deprived the people by force of effects received in exchange for their eatables, cloth and other effects; but it was noticed that after some time, all this acquired wealth flowed as presents or voluntary acknowledgments into the treasure of the various chiefs, who, it seemed, were the only possessors of all the hatchets and broad axes, the use of which they granted to their subjects on certain occasions, probably for some acknowledgment<sup>3</sup>. According to the *Duff* missionaries, a chief summoned all his tenants, each to bring a certain quantity of ripe breadfruit, and on an appointed day all this was lodged at his house. The tenants also helped him to collect wood and make fires for making *mahie* of the ripe breadfruit. All this was repeated every returning season. If a chief wanted breadfruit he sent his garlands round, and they were sure to come home full; but he was sure, without doing this, to be supplied with breadfruit, pigs and fish whenever he wanted it<sup>4</sup>. According to information obtained by the Spanish voyagers, a person who refused or neglected to respond to a demand for presents or tribute was banished<sup>5</sup>; there is an example of a case in which a *ra'atira* was punished by being selected for sacrifice<sup>6</sup>, and Turnbull says this was a probable punishment for the offence<sup>7</sup>.

On the question of redistribution by a chief of offerings received by him, Banks says that whenever one of the chiefs

<sup>1</sup> Tyerman, vol. i, p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> De Bovis, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Forster, *Obs.* p. 370.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, pp. 357 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. i, p. 357; vol. ii, pp. 137 sq., 201. Cf. Crook's MS. journal, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. iii, pp. 181 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Turnbull, pp. 358 sq.



killed a hog it seemed to have been divided almost equally among all his dependants, he taking little more than the rest<sup>1</sup>. Bligh tells us that Pomare I gave a great part of the gifts which Bligh had presented to him, to some people out of friendship and esteem, and to others from motives of political civility<sup>2</sup>; but on one occasion Pomare asked Bligh to keep the presents, as he (Pomare) had no place in which to secure them from being stolen<sup>3</sup>. According to the *Duff* missionaries, Pomare apparently tried to secure from theft the presents he might receive from them<sup>4</sup>; but they tell us, concerning the great chief Manne-manne, that he immediately distributed among his friends and dependants whatever he received, so that of all his numerous presents he had nothing to show, except a glazed hat, a pair of breeches, and an old black coat. The chief's explanation of this generosity was that if he did not do this, he would never be a king, nor even remain a chief of any consequence<sup>5</sup>. Tyerman and Bennet say of Pomare II that, on being given a fowl by their captain, he sent part of it to each of his attendants, of whom there were several present<sup>6</sup>. The London missionaries say that it was usual for Pomare I to make large presents to the chiefs and *areoi* at the annual feast; and that they found him superintending the dyeing of cloth for this purpose<sup>7</sup>.

There are other references (many of them only relating to specific episodes, and not speaking of customs generally) to the bringing in of food and other things to a chief or his emissary, or labouring for him<sup>8</sup>, and to the raiding by a chief on the people<sup>9</sup>; but the distinction between the two practices is not in all cases clear.

There can be no doubt that a chief received, and was in a position to require, support in the shape of both food and other things from his subjects, and that his right to all this was often enforced in what to us seems to have been a very arbitrary way by raiding them. The part of the evidence which is not

<sup>1</sup> Banks, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Bligh, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 67. Probably he wanted to conceal his possession of them.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 221. He had been a very important chief of Rai'atea, but in Tahiti he was acting as a high priest.

<sup>6</sup> Tyerman, vol. i, p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. i, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Cook, vol. vi, p. 155. Tyerman, vol. i, pp. 529 sq.; vol. ii, p. 39. *A.P.F.* vol. xxiii, p. 361. L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. i, pp. 117, 218. Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. i, p. 357; vol. ii, pp. 213 sqq., 264; vol. iii, pp. 64 sq., 104. *J.P.S.* vol. xxii, p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> Wilson, pp. 156 sq. Moerenhout, vol. ii, p. 19. Turnbull, pp. 288, 358. L.M.S., *Trans.* vol. i, pp. 176 sq. vol. iii, p. 184.



clear is that which relates to the practice of distributing what he received among others. Was it merely a distribution by him among his more immediate relations and dependants, or did it, or could it extend to all the people who had given the things to the chief? It is obvious that the former alternative involves more truly beneficial gifts to the chief than does the latter. Ellis says that the distribution by the king was among "the chiefs and favourites," but he does not say what he means by "the chiefs," though the context suggests that they were those immediately associated with him. The evidence as to distribution of gifts to a king or chief made by white men does not help us. According to Banks, a chief distributed among his "dependants"; the *Duff* missionaries speak of "friends and dependants." Tyerman and Bennet speak of the king's "attendants." The statement of the London missionaries, on the other hand, might involve a widely spread distribution among the chiefs of the king's dominions. I think that the more reasonable construction of the evidence, taken as a whole, is that the gifts to the king or chief would not, as a rule, be given back to the people who presented them, but would often be distributed among his own people, or some of them; and it may well be that this practice was based in part on a recognition of common ownership. The efforts of Pomare to conceal the gifts that he received were probably made in order to evade the distribution which would otherwise be expected of him.

I have found nothing in the records that identifies gifts of food to chiefs as having been of the nature of first-fruits; but the following terms, with the following meanings, appear in Davies's dictionary. *Huriao*: food prepared by the cultivators of land to be presented to their chief out of first-fruits. *Maiai*: the first-fruits of the season, which were taken to the king or principal chief. *Faaavari*: the first-fruit of a garden or plantation presented to the king or chief of the place. *Hiirima*: the first-fruit for the king, principal chief, or favourite son. *Ahoa*: the presentation of the first-fruits to a god, or to the king. *Faaahoa*: to present the first-fruit of a garden or field to the king or principal chief; the thing so presented. *Faaariari*: to give the first present of food to the king, or to a newly married couple. *Araroa*: the first hog taken to the king on taking off a restriction. *Fatui*: some of the first fish caught in a new net, and presented to the gods or to the king. It is clear therefore that they had a custom of presenting first-fruits.



## HERVEY ISLANDS

I have referred once or twice to the despotic chief who caused a split in the Makea (Karika) group of Rarotonga, the cause of which was his arbitrary treatment of his subjects, and I may here say that it was alleged against him that all land, fruit, fish and property, and the persons in the district, were subjected to the cruel despotic will of this would-be god<sup>1</sup>. I do not know whether we are to believe from this that the great Rarotongan chiefs had more or less autocratic powers over the property of their subjects; it is true that in this case the offender lost his crown in consequence of his misbehaviour, but that might only be because he carried it too far. Polynesian chiefs were liable to suffer in this way at times if they did this. Williams says that in Rarotonga the tenants of the land-owners [by which he may well be referring really to the people of the groups of which these land-owners were the heads] obeyed the orders of their superior, assisted him in the erection of his house, and in building canoes, etc., besides bringing him a certain portion of the produce of their land<sup>2</sup>. Gill says that the praying king [*i.e.* the spiritual king] of Mangaia, as such, received the best lands, in addition to the daily offerings of food of the best quality<sup>3</sup>.

## MARQUESAS

Lisiansky says that in the Marquesas the kings of districts had the right, in a fruitful season, to a one-fourth part of the produce of the lands of their subjects; and in other seasons a portion according to circumstances<sup>4</sup>. Porter, speaking of one of these, says that he "owned much land and his tenants paid him in kind." When presents were to be made, he called upon them for his due in hogs, coconuts, bananas or breadfruit; other land-owners followed his example; the contributors assembled before his house, one with two or more coconuts and a branch of bananas. When all were collected, he, or his son or grandson, took the lead, and they marched in one line to the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner he received the contributions of all the other tribes<sup>5</sup>. This statement probably applies, not merely to a landlord and his tenant, but to the head of a group and its members, this being a point

<sup>1</sup> W. Gill, *Gems*, vol. II, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Williams, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *Myths*, p. 298.

<sup>4</sup> Lisiansky, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Porter, vol. II, p. 64.



as to which writers of books on Polynesia seem to get wrong sometimes. The reference to contributions of all the other tribes points in this direction. Porter also tells us, of this same head chief, that when he gave him a whale's tooth the chief begged Porter not to tell anyone<sup>1</sup>. According to Stewart, a chief could not levy a tax or command personal service by others. If he wanted an article of food or property in the possession of a commoner, he had to seek it as a voluntary gift, or by barter, without reference to rank or title; and if he needed help in any piece of work, he could secure it only in the way customary among private individuals<sup>2</sup>. Stewart, in telling us of the distribution of presents by an English captain among the chiefs, says there was evident jealousy between them, and each of them immediately secreted his gift<sup>3</sup>. Coulter says that a young chief, the nephew of Mate [an elderly chief of consequence], often went about with him; and if they wanted anything—say, fruit or a drink of coconut milk—and it was not brought at once by the man told to fetch it, this chief would knock the man down<sup>4</sup>. Vincendon-Dumoulin tells us that the chiefs could not impose taxes, and only got objects belonging to the other natives by means of exchange, or as a voluntary gift<sup>5</sup>. Du Petit-Thouars says that none of the chiefs received services or tribute, and had no right to expect it<sup>6</sup>. Radiguet says that an *akaiki* [chief] had the right to take from the *kikino* [lower class] any objects he wanted<sup>7</sup>, and to collect a tithe of their harvests and raise a tax on their livings (*bénéfices*)<sup>8</sup>. According to des Vergnes, the best food, etc., was reserved for the chiefs in common with the religious heads and the gods; and, failing offerings, they knew how to requisition them. If a chief had to make a present to a neighbour or a stranger, it was the subjects who had to pay the expenses<sup>9</sup>.

There is clearly a diversity in the testimony of these writers on the question of the right of a chief to require contributions and services from his subjects, and to make confiscatory raids upon them; and as I have introduced their statements in chronological order, we cannot attribute this diversity to any gradual increase or loss of their powers in this respect. Presumably the bulk of information has been obtained in Nuku-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *I.M.* pp. 226 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Radiguet, vol. XXIII, p. 607.

<sup>9</sup> Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 721.

<sup>2</sup> Stewart, vol. I, pp. 240 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Coulter, p. 216.

<sup>6</sup> Du Petit-Thouars, vol. II, p. 355.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 608.



hiva, so the diversity can hardly be geographical, except in the sense of applying to different districts of that island. The probability is, I think, that the powers of the chiefs in different districts, and from time to time in the same district, varied according to their personality and ability, and the powers of resistance by which they were opposed. The duty of a chief to redistribute among others is probably indicated by the reported efforts to avoid its performance by concealment.

#### PAUMOTU

In the Paumotuan island of Mangareva the king, according to d'Urville, was at birth the proprietor of all the land, and the people owed him the harvest. Thus he had the third, the half, or the whole of the products, which he afterwards distributed according to his fancy, only his parents being exempt from this obligation. Anyone refusing would be severely punished, or even put to death<sup>1</sup>. This is another example of the right of the head of a group to receive tribute from his subjects, coupled with a duty, apparently not well defined, to distribute a lot of it among some persons. It must be noted that the king could distribute as he liked. Moerenhout also says that the people of Peard Island [Mangareva] paid an annual tribute<sup>2</sup>. As regards day-to-day requirements, Caillot says that the king was not too exacting, greedy or cruel, because, if he were, his subjects might depose or kill him. Therefore he did not abuse his authority beyond measure, and generally confined himself to prescribing forced labour in fishing, clearing ground and making canoes and weapons<sup>3</sup>. This statement may refer to a large extent to things enforced by the king for the benefit of the community; but Caillot's reference to greediness suggests that it was not entirely so.

#### NIUE

In the island of Niue there were no taxes beyond the obligation to provide feasts for the councils and occasionally to carry food to the king or to the chiefs of villages<sup>4</sup>. The land belonged to clans represented by their heads. The head man received a sort of rent in the form of service and produce; and the first-fruits, formerly offered to the gods, were sometimes presented

<sup>1</sup> D'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. II, part I, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Moerenhout, vol. I, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, pp. 147 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. XXXI, p. 138. Cf. Thomson, *S.I.* pp. 37 sq.



to him<sup>1</sup>. I draw attention, with reference to the presentation to the head of a clan of the first-fruits, formerly offered to the gods, to the *inaji* ceremony of Tonga, and my discussion of it.

## ROTUMA

It is said that in Rotuma the king [that is, the *fakpure* or secular king] deferentially submitted the daily offerings to the emperor [that is the *sou* or sacred king], who first supplied his own wants<sup>2</sup>. So also first-fruits from all the districts had to be presented to the *sou*, it being the business of the *fakpure* to look after this, and see that they were properly paid. Also the *sou's* own district brought him food at the new moon<sup>3</sup>. The daily offerings submitted to the *sou* by the *fakpure* came to the latter from the people, who were bound to supply them<sup>4</sup>; and I gather that, after the *sou* had supplied his wants, he would give the rest to other people. Gardiner says that the *ngangaja* or chiefs received, "to some extent," first-fruits<sup>5</sup>; apparently in Gardiner's time this was only claimed by the chief of one of the districts<sup>6</sup>; but it may be that in previous times this right had been more widely recognized. It was, however, proper to send all strange animals which might be killed or caught to the chief<sup>7</sup>; and, according to Lesson, the chiefs never worked, but were served by the inhabitants of the district in turn<sup>8</sup>. The *pure*, or head of the family, was given first-fruits of each cultivated patch<sup>9</sup>.

## FOTUNA

In the island of Fotuna the great *toe-matua* [king, as head priest] had the exclusive right of tabooing and appropriating to himself all he desired. If he liked a certain kind of fish, whoever caught them had to bring them to him; if he wished for fruit, fowls or pig of his neighbours, he tabooed them, and soon afterwards his table was laden with them<sup>10</sup>. Offerings of first-fruits to the gods were common and to the principal personages at a feast<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxi, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Roivings*, vol. i, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 462. Cf. Hale, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Roivings*, vol. i, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 430.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 484.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 506.

<sup>8</sup> Lesson, *Voy.* vol. ii, p. 434.

<sup>9</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 484.

<sup>10</sup> Bourdin, p. 444.

<sup>11</sup> Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. i, p. 47.



## UVEA

All I can learn about Uvea is that the king had command over the possessions of his subjects<sup>1</sup>; that when a chief entered a house he had the right to take all in it that he pleased<sup>2</sup>; and that the queen (1885) did not tax her subjects, but lived on the produce of her lands, and on presents which were brought to her, especially in bad seasons, by the people<sup>3</sup>.

## ELLICE ISLANDS

Mrs David (1899), after referring to the relatively moderate conditions of life of the king of Funafuti, of the Ellice group, says that in the old days he had more authority, but was not despotic; in her time he was receiving five dollars a year from his subjects<sup>4</sup>, but I do not know whether this must be regarded as a modern development of an old system of tribute. Three bags of yams which she gave him and his sub-chief and the native pastor remained unopened for three days, after which the conch was blown, the people of all the island assembled and the contents of the bags were divided among all the people according to their families<sup>5</sup>. These would all be his subjects, so perhaps the idea was one of communism.

## EASTER ISLAND

Lapelin (1872), speaking of the sacred kings of Easter Island, says that they had not to work the land, or do any work to provide for their families; the whole population owed them first-fruits, and had to provide for their needs, and for the construction of their houses<sup>6</sup>; and Ollivier (1866) says of the young king of his time that they still had a certain respect for him, and still brought him first-fruits of the yams<sup>7</sup>. Ollivier says with reference to the successful competitor in the egg-finding ceremony, who I hold to have been the secular king, that he was immediately recognized as chief and invested with tyrannical power. The people served him as slaves. With the installation pillaging began anew, the chief, escorted by his people, swooping down on the houses like a bird of prey, and

<sup>1</sup> Mangeret, vol. 1, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Deschamps, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Lapelin, *R.M.C.* vol. xxxv, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xxxix, p. 255.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 164.

<sup>7</sup> Mrs David, pp. 118 sq.



expecting potatoes, fowls, etc.<sup>1</sup> Thomson (1886) says that no tax was exacted of the people<sup>2</sup>, which may have been true; but we must read the statement in the light of the other evidence.

### TIKOPIA

D'Urville says that the prerogatives of the four principal chiefs of Tikopia consisted in the rights of taboo and of tribute of fish paid by the people<sup>3</sup>. According to Rivers, the *pure matua*, who seem to have been the heads of families, had to provide the chief with food, each doing this for a day in turn, and the chief giving a present in return. The larder of the chief was always well stocked and if there was more than was wanted the chief would give the excess to the *pure matua*. Other people also gave food to the chiefs, and one who saw anything specially choice in his garden would tell his family not to touch it, but to reserve it as food for the chief<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Thomson, p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. V, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. I, p. 340.



## CHAPTER XLIII

### SUCCESSION AND INHERITANCE

#### PRELIMINARY

I DRAW attention to the statement in the preliminary observations on the subject of "Matrilineal Descent" as to the defined meanings with which I proposed to use, in this book, the terms "descent," "succession" and "inheritance." We now have to deal with "succession" to official rank or other similar distinction on the devolution of the headship and the family title or name of a social group, and with inheritance on transmission of property. As regards the latter, incidental references may appear from time to time relating to inheritance of movable property—goods and chattels—but the information given by writers on this subject is so very small, and in most cases so indefinite, that it is impossible to draw from it any conclusion as to a general Polynesian system, and the matter with which I shall really concern myself is that of the inheritance of land. I refer, with reference to this subject, to the evidence that has already appeared in the discussions of "Names and Titles" and "Land Tenure and Control." There can, I think, be no shadow of doubt (see evidence given in preliminary observations on land tenure) that succession to the title or name of a social group usually, and perhaps always, carried with it the inheritance of the land of the group; the two devolutions went together, and evidence which is so worded as to refer only to one of them may be regarded as referring to both.

There is, however, one point to which I must draw attention. Take the case of a social group divided into six sub-groups; there would be a person who succeeded to the title or name of the whole group and to the inheritance of its land, but he would hold the land of the group as a whole on its behalf, and his power of controlling and dealing with it was, as we have seen, subject to certain restrictions. If, however, as we have also seen, the head for the time being of the whole group was also generally—and probably always—the head of one of the sub-



groups, though by losing his headship of the whole group his dominion over the land of the group would be lost also, this would not deprive him of his dominion over the land of the sub-group, so long as he retained the headship of the latter<sup>1</sup>; and even if he were deposed, and so lost his headship of the sub-group, this would not as a rule deprive him of any personal right which he, as a member of the sub-group, might have to a portion of its land, unless indeed he was exiled or punished by forfeiture of his land; and, even in the latter case, that land would usually pass to some other person who was qualified to inherit it from him. I do not anticipate that questions as to these matters will arise from a consideration of the evidence on succession, but I think it desirable to draw attention to them, so that we may be the better able to realize the way in which the application of the practices as to succession would or might operate.

I propose to content myself in the first instance with dealing with the general evidence as to succession, taking the several islands and groups of islands in turn, after which I will draw attention, with reference to all of them, to one specific matter which can, I think, be more conveniently considered in this way.

## SAMOA

Wilkes says that in Samoa the authority and title always remained in the same family, but the rule of primogeniture was not strictly followed<sup>2</sup>. Walpole says the property descended not to the oldest, but to the cleverest, who thus assumed the headship of his class<sup>3</sup>. According to Hood, the people did not always abide by the nomination of the previous chief. If the adopted heir—son or nephew—was unpopular, they often refused to recognize him, and selected some other person of the same blood<sup>4</sup>. Pritchard says that the claim of a brother had precedence over that of a son<sup>5</sup>. Murray gives an example of a chief being succeeded by his adopted son<sup>6</sup>. Churchward, speaking of testamentary appointments, says that a father could

<sup>1</sup> An example of this is seen in the case of the Teva people of Tahiti, whose head chief had originally been the Vaiari chief, who retained his Vaiari chieftdom and lordship of the Vaiari district, though the head chieftdom of the Teva passed to the Papara chief.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Hood, pp. 76 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Murray, *40 years*, p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> Walpole, vol. II, p. 352.

<sup>6</sup> Pritchard, p. 393.



leave his name to his eldest son, or any of his male children, and indeed to a perfect stranger, though in that case it would revert to some member of the family<sup>1</sup>; but I think he is wrong as regards the stranger, if he intends to imply that the person need not be a member of the family, either actual or adopted. According to Brown, the next eldest brother was considered to be the legitimate heir to the title and lands, though this claim was sometimes waived by the brother in favour of one of the sons<sup>2</sup>. Pratt says that a brother often—nay, generally—succeeded a chief<sup>3</sup>. Ella speaks of appointments by chiefs in favour of a son or near relation, or sometimes an adopted son, and says that, failing a son, a daughter might be appointed<sup>4</sup>. Von Bülow tells us that the man chosen as a successor was generally one of the direct descendants of the deceased, and that adopted children were on exactly the same footing as actual children; failing these a more distant relative was called up<sup>5</sup>. The chiefs' titles were for the most part hereditary in the family<sup>6</sup>. Krämer says that the titles were generally so far hereditary that the titular chief usually selected a near relative as his heir<sup>7</sup>. It was generally one of his sons<sup>8</sup>; but not necessarily the first born<sup>9</sup>. An adopted son might succeed in preference to his own children; and the son of the adopted son might succeed him, but a nearer relation of the family would generally do so<sup>10</sup>. Stuebel says that a chief would observe the conduct of his own children and an adopted son with a view to the question of succession<sup>11</sup>. Stuebel refers elsewhere to the eligibility for the succession of an adopted son; but says that if he behaved badly he could be driven away by the chief's own son, who would seize the name and government; the adopted son might be succeeded either by his own son or by the son of the chief whom he himself had succeeded<sup>12</sup>. Stuebel also tells us that the brother of the deceased, or one of the children of the deceased, or the son of his sister, succeeded him<sup>13</sup>. He refers also to the case of a chief who had no children, and could pass the succession to a brother<sup>14</sup>. He also refers to the case of a chief who had died and the family were considering whether the name should be given to his son; and in connection

<sup>1</sup> Churchward, pp. 336 sq.<sup>2</sup> Brown, p. 314; cf. pp. 282, 286.<sup>3</sup> Pratt, *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, p. 655.<sup>4</sup> Ella, *A.A.A.S.* vol. IV, p. 631.<sup>5</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXIII, p. 186.<sup>6</sup> Von Bülow, *I.A.E.* vol. XIII, p. 63.<sup>7</sup> Krämer, *S.I.* vol. I, p. 11.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 18, 32.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 31.<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 59.<sup>11</sup> Stuebel, pp. 110 sq.<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 121 sq.<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 89.<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* p. 112.



with this, he says that, if the son succeeded and died, the question would have to be decided whether the succession should pass to the son's son, or to the son of the father's sister<sup>1</sup>. Schultz says that if a son had been disinherited for bad behaviour both he and his issue were cut off for all time from the inheritance [*i.e.* succession and inheritance]. A rightful heir who belonged to the defeated [*vaivai*] party had to submit to be dispossessed by a relation who had sided with the victors. Schultz also gives some details as to the circumstances under which the rights of what he calls descent could be replaced by adoption; he says, among other things, that, though an adopted son had the rights of a true son, there was an exception to this, in that he could not make a *mavaenga* (will) in favour of a blood relation or adopted son of his own, as after his death the name reverted to the family of the adopting family, which decided upon the choice of a successor<sup>2</sup>. As to this last point, I may say that, even in the case of a true son, the will of the father does not seem to have been binding upon the electors, and that Schultz's statement probably only means that a will by an adopted son was not considered.

The following are statements as to the motives which influenced, in some cases, the making by a chief of his will as to his successor, and in others the selection by the electors. Walpole says the property descended, not to the eldest, but to the cleverest<sup>3</sup>. Von Bülow says the man chosen was the most skilled in speaking, most courageous, the best grown; but of several who were equally commendable, he was chosen whose mother was of the highest rank<sup>4</sup>. According to Schultz, men of weak mind, cripples and such as had behaved in a hard-hearted way to the head for the time being of the family were debarred. He sums up the qualifications for succession as being: 1st, Personal qualification; 2nd, Presence of a claim through either descent or adoption; 3rd, Nomination through the testator's will or by the family; and 4th, Public recognition<sup>5</sup>. Krämer says that the king, in appointing his successor—generally one of his sons—took into consideration, not only his personal qualities, but in particular the high descent of his mother, because the king knew that the *tumua* [the governmental village district—that is, in this case, the electoral college

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Walpole, vol. II, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, pp. 52 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Schultz, *J.P.S.* vol. XX, pp. 52 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Von Bülow, *Globus*, vol. LXXIII, p. 186.



there] would regard such an appointment with special favour on account of the wealth of the mother's family. If the proposed successor had extensive family connections, he was certain of election<sup>1</sup>. And again, speaking of great chiefs generally, Krämer says that all the sons of the chief were not equally eligible, the rank and, above all, the riches of the mother's family influenced the council in its choice<sup>2</sup>.

### TONGA

When d'Entrecasteaux visited Tonga in 1793 the late reigning *tuitonga* had been Paulaho [of Cook's time—died about 1784], and he had, according to d'Entrecasteaux, a brother Fatafé and two sisters Tinee and Nanatchi, and a son Fatafé<sup>3</sup>. Paulaho's son, Fatafé, was, on his father's death, too young to succeed him, but was in d'Entrecasteaux's time aged about 25 or 26. His uncle Fatafé had taken up the reins of government, but this did not last long, as he died. Then Tinee had been invested with the sovereignty, and enjoyed the supreme dignity, but without exercising the power, and it was a brother or very near relative of Tinee's mother who possessed authority. On the basis of these facts d'Entrecasteaux discusses the order of succession to the throne—that is, to the position and title of *tuitonga*. He asks why did not Paulaho's son succeed his father on or after the latter's death, pointing out that he may have been old enough to do so on his uncle's death, and certainly was so in his (d'Entrecasteaux's) time. He arrives, uncertainly, at the conclusion that the succession was, not from father to son, but from the reigning king to his brothers, and then to his sisters; and that the power then went back, by order of primogeniture, to the children of the eldest brothers (*ainés*) who had reigned, the preference always being given to males<sup>4</sup>. As d'Entrecasteaux was actually in Tonga at this distant date—only a few years after Cook—we must take note of his views, and it is for this reason that I have set out the facts upon which they seem to have been based; but it is not clear that his facts are right for, according to the particulars already given in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," Paulaho's son,

<sup>1</sup> Krämer, *S.J.* vol. 1, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Fatafé (variously spelt) was the general name of the *tuitonga*. "Tinee" was the well-known "Queen Tineh," whose name has appeared in previous pages.

<sup>4</sup> D'Entrecasteaux, vol. 1, p. 304. Cf. (for the facts) Labillardière, vol. II, p. 169.



though young, did succeed his father on his death, and the boy's affairs came under the control of his mother. Even if d'Entrecasteaux's facts are correct to a certain extent, he may have misinterpreted them; it is possible, for instance, that the son *had* succeeded his father, and that first his paternal uncle, and then either his paternal aunt or her maternal uncle acted as guardian; so far as she is concerned, I may point out that she, as *tuitonga fefine*, and as father's sister to the young king, would in any case be a person of great importance.

I think that we must not assume that d'Entrecasteaux is right, especially as a system such as he suggests would presumably produce a number of female *tuitonga*, and I do not find any other reference in either tradition or history to any one. The usual practice, at all events, seems to have been for the succession on the death of a *tuitonga* to pass to his eldest son—that is, his son by his official wife, the daughter of the *hau* or secular king<sup>1</sup>. Apparently, however, a *tuitonga* was sometimes succeeded by a brother. The lists of the past *tuitonga* do not, unfortunately, give the successive relationships—actual or traditional—except that Tregear's list, published by Thomson, has a reference to the succession of a brother to the office<sup>2</sup>. It is obviously possible that a brother or some other relation of a *tuitonga* would have to succeed him in the event of his dying without leaving a child qualified by maternal rank of birth to do so. If my suggested explanation of the practice for the sister of a *tuitonga* to purify herself by bathing on his succession to office is correct, it is evident that the possibility was, or had been, recognized of the passing of the right to succeed, through her, to her son.

Passing now to the general evidence as to succession and inheritance by chiefs and others, Cook says that on a man's death his title was inherited by his son<sup>3</sup>. Mariner, in speaking of the *eiki* or nobles, tells us that, if the father and mother were nearly equal in birth, the following was the order in which the individuals of the family were to be ranked, *viz.* the father, the mother, the eldest son, the eldest daughter, the second son, the second daughter, etc.; or, if there were no children, then the order was the next brother to the man, then the sister, the

<sup>1</sup> S. Farmer, p. 145. Cf. Cook, vol. v, p. 320. Wilson, p. 259. Thomson, *D.P.M.* pp. 292, 307.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 395.

<sup>3</sup> Cook, vol. v, p. 430.



second brother, the second sister, etc.<sup>1</sup> The interest of this statement, as affecting our present subject, is that it is evidently to it that Mariner refers when he says that the right of succession to property, in which he includes plantations and houses, was regulated by the order of relationship, as given under the head of "Nobles," and so in like manner was the right of succession to the throne<sup>2</sup>. There seems to be a lack of exactitude in this, for, taken literally, it would involve succession by a wife to her husband; but I suppose that Mariner is only referring to the other members of the family. I gather that *matabule* were usually succeeded by their sons, to whom they handed down the traditionary records which they themselves had learnt; but that the successor might be a brother<sup>3</sup>. Mariner tells us that on the death of Finau (the first Finau of Mariner's time) the claim of his son Finau to succeed him was based on the ground that he was the lawful heir<sup>4</sup>. Bays says that the eldest son of the principal wife of a chief would succeed to the heritage of his father<sup>5</sup>. So also Waldegrave says that the eldest born son of the wife, the daughter of the greatest chief, was the successor<sup>6</sup>. Hale tells us that the person elected to succeed a deceased *tuikanokubolu* was some member of his family, usually either a brother, son or nephew<sup>7</sup>. According to West, the succession did not necessarily devolve on the eldest son, or nearest of kin, of a deceased king, and a brother might succeed in preference to his children<sup>8</sup>. Young says that any member of the royal family used to be eligible to be king<sup>9</sup>. According to Brierley, the eldest son of the king did not necessarily succeed his father; another might be chosen from the sons of a former king, or a younger son might be elected rather than an elder, if he were thought to have more capacity for governing<sup>10</sup>. Sarah Farmer says there was a royal family among the chiefs; the king had to be chosen from this, but he might be brother, nephew, etc., of the late king—not necessarily his son<sup>11</sup>. According to Pritchard, a brother's claims had precedence over those of a son<sup>12</sup>. Coppinger refers to the position on the death of king George. He says the heir presumptive was his grandson; but

<sup>1</sup> Mariner, vol. II, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 89 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Bays, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> Hale, vol. VI, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Young, *S.W.* p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> S. Farmer, p. 140.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 94 sq.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 305.

<sup>9</sup> Waldegrave, *J.R.G.S.* vol. III, p. 192.

<sup>10</sup> West, p. 261.

<sup>11</sup> Brierley, *J.R.G.S.* vol. XXII, p. 97.

<sup>12</sup> Pritchard, p. 393.



that it was doubtful whether he would succeed, as his cousin, the son of a deceased brother of king George, was older in years, and was therefore, by the Tongan laws, the legitimate heir to the throne<sup>1</sup>. Monfat says that Tukuaho, on the death of his father, should have allowed his father's sister to inherit the power, according to the customs of the country; but he wrested it from her<sup>2</sup>. Père A. C. says, in his dictionary, that royal succession formerly went from brother to brother, but according to the new constitution it went from father to son<sup>3</sup>. Thomson, speaking of succession to the title of *tuikanokubolu*, says that none but the reigning family could succeed, and the two conditions that weighed with the electoral college were the dying wishes of the late king, and the relative power and popularity of the candidates<sup>4</sup>. Speaking, however, of an historical case (the death of Tubou-malohi), he speaks of the brother of the deceased as having been his natural successor<sup>5</sup>. Perhaps he had no son.

## SOCIETY ISLANDS

I commence the consideration of succession and inheritance in the Society Islands by referring to what has already appeared in the evidence as to the granting of the title or name of a family or other social group. We have seen that the first-born son of a chief succeeded to the title immediately on birth, but that this general statement was apparently subject to one or two qualifications. There can, I think, be little doubt that this means that the succession went to the first-born son by the chief's official high-born wife, and not to the first son by any one of his wives; this is, I imagine, the explanation of Moerenhout's statement that the successor was not necessarily the eldest son, and Corney says that the right to succession at birth depended upon the rank of the mother. It was, I think, a common practice in parts of Polynesia for a chief to have what we may call an official wife whose offspring alone were eligible for succession. Then again, though the successor was generally the first-born son, there was a practice under which it might be a child of either sex, as, according to the *Duff* missionaries, the succession passed to the first-born, whether male or female, and Ari'i Taimai says that, in the absence of sons, daughters might succeed; history also shows

<sup>1</sup> Coppinger, p. 172.<sup>2</sup> Monfat, *Tonga*, p. 20.<sup>3</sup> Père A. C., p. x.<sup>4</sup> Thomson, *D.P.M.* p. 307; cf. p. 356.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 341.



that Society Island titles were sometimes vested in women. We have also been told that the successor might be an adopted son; but this possibility arose, I think, in Polynesia generally, the adopted child being regarded as holding in most respects the same position as that of an actual child. Apparently the customs as to all this prevailed among the *ra'atira*, as well as with the chiefs.

On the other hand, we have evidence that on the death of a chief the question of succession might arise, and be affected by the will of the deceased chief, and be the subject of election. This seems, at first sight, somewhat inconsistent with a system of succession at birth, and we must consider under what circumstances the questions of testamentary appointment and election might arise. It would obviously arise if the chief or other person had no child, actual or adopted; but how could it do so if he had had a child—we will say a son—who had been recognized as having succeeded at birth? I refer, as to this, to Ellis's suggestion (referred to in the discussion of election) that the origin of the custom of succession at birth was a desire to secure to the son undisputed succession to the father, and to his statement that the son was usually firmly fixed in the government before the father's death. Without assuming the correctness of his suggestion as to the origin of what was, I suspect, an ancient custom, we may recognize the fact that the son might or might not have made his position as successor secure before his father died.

Moerenhout says that, though a son succeeded at birth to the titles and respect due to the father, he did not acquire the authority of the father until the latter had become old and infirm<sup>1</sup>. According to Ellis, the period at which the young king was introduced to his high office depended upon his own character and disposition, the will of his father and guardians, or the exigencies of the state; but the event generally took place some years before he had reached the age of twenty-one<sup>2</sup>. Pomare II was born in about 1782<sup>3</sup>; and apparently Pomare I had handed over the authority in Tahiti to him in 1791<sup>4</sup>. At all events, the history to which I have already referred, of the hostility between Pomare II and his father, Pomare I, indicates that Pomare II was the actual ruler then. The history of Tahiti, relating to other matters, however, shows that the father continued to hold, on behalf of the son, the reins of government,

<sup>1</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 12 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 106.



and to manage the affairs of the country or district; but that he often, in his lifetime, surrendered the actual government to his son, who thereupon became chief in fact, as well as in name. I think that, if he had the qualities of chieftainship, and made himself, by his behaviour, popular with his subjects, he would, as a rule, continue to hold the title after his father's death, so that this event would not involve any question of election, and Ellis says that the son was usually firmly fixed in the government before the father's death<sup>1</sup>.

I imagine that if the son had actually assumed the reins of government in his father's lifetime, but the people were unwilling that he should continue to do so after the father's death, the process by which they would get rid of him would be one of formal deposition; the situation would be the same logically, even if the son had not been entrusted with the government, because he had in fact succeeded to the title. I cannot say what formal method was in fact adopted in either case. I refer, however, to what has appeared in the discussion of the granting of titles in Mangaia, where the attitude of the people towards a first-born son was very similar to that of Tahiti, except that the son was not, apparently, regarded as having actually succeeded to the title on his birth. In Mangaia, as we have seen, though the god was supposed to have entered the first-born child, they might come to the conclusion that this was not so, and that the god had entered another child; and it may be that a similar conception prevailed in Tahiti—that is, that they came to the conclusion that the first-born, who had been recognized as having succeeded to the title, had not done so with the approval of the god, and his succession had not been legitimate and valid<sup>2</sup>.

Whatever the correct explanation of the matter may be, it seems that the first-born son, though the presumed successor, was not necessarily recognized as the person who was to hold the title after his father's death, and I will now refer to evidence as to the persons who might, according to custom, be nominated by the father or elected as successor.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer associates the Tahitian practice of abdication by the father on the birth of the eldest son with an idea that the father had died, in a sense, and been re-born in the son, into whom his spirit had entered (Frazer, *G.B.* vol. IV, pp. 189 *seq.*). I have only suggested a belief that the sanctity and, apparently, (see "Some Beliefs as to Names and Titles") the accompanying infective taboo of the father had passed from him to the son. The two ideas are not altogether dissimilar.



It stands to reason that as, if the eldest son did not succeed, collateral relations were possible successors, younger sons might be so also; but there are a few references by writers that seem to imply that this was the case. We have Ari'i Taimai's statement that, *in the absence of sons* [my italics], daughters might succeed; Anderson refers to the succession of a brother, if there were no children<sup>1</sup>; Scherzer refers to the succession by a female descendant, in case the male descendants had become extinct<sup>2</sup>; Ellis refers to bequests of the land to children<sup>3</sup>; I have already, in the discussion of election, referred to the case, quoted by Ari'i Taimai, of a dispute as to succession between two sons of the head chief of Papara, one of whom contended that, as the eldest child—in this case a daughter—had married, and gone to live in Ra'iatea, she had become disqualified and all the other children had equal claims to the succession.

Turning now to the question of succession by daughters, I refer again to the statement of the *Duff* missionaries that the succession passed to the first-born, whether male or female, and to Ari'i Taimai's statement that, in the absence of sons, daughters might succeed. I also refer to Scherzer's statement, quoted above, as to succession by a female descendant, in case the male descendants became extinct; and I draw attention to the fact that, in the case of the dispute between the two sons of the Papara chief, the eldest child, who alone, it was contended, had a prior right, was a daughter. The *Duff* missionaries also say that Pomare I had two sisters, one of whom remained unmarried, and being older than he, might have put in a prior claim to the sovereignty, but waived her right in his favour<sup>4</sup>. Ellis says that the title to the throne was not confined to the male sex, the islands often being governed by a queen<sup>5</sup>. History shows that women might succeed to titles; but the point to which I draw attention is that, according to the *Duff* missionaries, the prior right of the first-born extended to daughters; and that the same system is involved by the claim made by one of the two sons of the Papara chief, and is indicated by the definite example of the prior right of an elder sister of Pomare I. As regards this latter case, it will be noticed that the prior right of the elder sister seems to have depended upon the fact that she had not married; and in the case of the dispute

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. vi, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis, vol. iii, pp. 115 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, vol. iii, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> Scherzer, vol. iii, p. 231 note.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, p. xv.



between the two sons of the Papara chief, the basis of the contention that the children had equal rights, was that the eldest daughter, who alone had a prior right, had married, and gone to live in Ra'iatea. The objection to succession by a married daughter is easy to understand, because she, in the two cases given, would be a lady of high rank; she would be the official wife of her husband and would go to live with him in his district, and so would not be a suitable ruler of her own district.

The eligibility for succession by an adopted son has already been referred to but several writers mention it<sup>1</sup>. De Bovis says of it, however, that if the adopted son were less noble than the real son, he would never be considered, except after the real son, though if a chief of high rank had children by a woman of inferior caste, and then adopted a young man or girl of purer rank, on the side both of the father and the mother, there was no chance for his real children; and the context shows that this statement refers to, or includes, the right to succession<sup>2</sup>.

Passing now to the question of succession by collateral relations, Anderson refers, as we have seen, to the succession of a brother, if there were no children. One of the Spanish voyagers, speaking of succession in Tahiti, says that all that he was able to gather about it was to the effect that, after the death of an *ari'i*, the sovereignty passed to the eldest nephew<sup>3</sup>; and another of the Spaniards reported that the succession was not from father to son, but from brother to brother, or uncle to nephew<sup>4</sup>. The comment of the editor (Dr Corney) on the first of these statements is that the Spaniard was "astray in his opinion," and as to the other, he says that the statement was "not quite in accordance with the fact." I agree with these criticisms, so far as they relate to the usual practices of Tahiti, as known to us; but I may point out that the devolutions indicated would be consistent with a system of alternate succession, which, as we have seen (see "Observations" on "Political Areas and Systems"), prevailed in some of the islands, including, perhaps, Borabora and Huahine, both of the Society Group. It seems possible that this information, collected in the latter half of the eighteenth century, may point to some survival, or partial

<sup>1</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, pp. 12 sq. Cuzent, *O.T.* p. 46. Ari'i Taimai, p. 85. *A.P.F.* vol. XXIII, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, pp. 276 sq.

<sup>3</sup> De Bovis, pp. 296 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 356.



survival, of a system which had, to a large extent, passed away. The *Duff* missionaries tell us, with reference to the head chief of the district of Taiarapu, that on his death without children the succession passed to one of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, who was his *taio*, and that on the death, shortly afterwards, of this man, it passed to a four-year-old nephew of the chief<sup>1</sup>. The chief's *taio*, or close friend, with whom he had probably exchanged names, would, I think, be regarded in a sense as a duplication of himself, but he would at all events be treated as being his adopted brother; so the succession passed to one brother, and after his death, to the son of another brother. We do not know whether the mutineer *taio* had left a son who might have succeeded him; but even if he had, I may point to what is said by Churchward (as interpreted by me) and by Schultz, as to the Samoan practice for succession by an adopted person to be followed, on his death, by reversion to a true member of the family. Another Spanish record tells of a Vehiatua chief who was succeeded by his brother—a little boy<sup>2</sup>; but I do not know whether the chief had left a child. The *Duff* missionaries say that the *taio* might use his friend's land during his lifetime, and if the friend had no child, it passed on his death to the *taio*<sup>3</sup>. Ari'i Taimai says that on the death of Pomare II he left a daughter, Aimata, under nine years old, and an infant son, both children of his second wife; he believed, however, that Aimata was not really his child, so the boy was made king<sup>4</sup>; the interest of this statement is that it seems to imply that if there had been no doubt as to the legitimacy of Aimata, she, being the elder, would have succeeded, although she was a girl. I may say that the son did in fact succeed as Pomare III. Wilkes, however, afterwards found this same Aimata reigning as Pomare IV<sup>5</sup>, and this is confirmed by one of Ari'i Taimai's tables<sup>6</sup>, so she evidently succeeded her younger brother in spite of the question as to her paternity. Wilkes tells us, however, that she had married, and had one son, the heir to the throne; and he adds that, if her posterity failed, the next heirs were two nieces of Pomare II<sup>7</sup>; but I cannot identify either of them as having succeeded. Ellis says that a person's proper successor was his son, or the nearest of

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, p. xxix. Cf. Hamilton, p. 40, and Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 214 note 1, as to succession by the *taio*.

<sup>2</sup> Corney, *Tahiti*, vol. II, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> Ari'i Taimai, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, p. 325.

<sup>6</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Wilkes, vol. II, p. 18.



his kindred<sup>1</sup>. According to Ribourt (1847), the succession was formerly transmitted by election to any member whatever of the family of the chief<sup>2</sup>. And Moerenhout says that if all the members of a family of chiefs succumbed in battle, a distant relation, or in default of that, a subordinate chief, a friend of the deceased, was ready to replace the chief, taking his names and titles<sup>3</sup>. I think that the "friend," if he was not a relative, would have to be adopted as a member of the family in order to become qualified for the succession.

## HERVEY ISLANDS

Gill is speaking of the sacred kings of Mangaia when he says that the kingly authority was hereditary and distinct from that of the warrior chief<sup>4</sup>; and he tells us that the succession of the "Rulers of Food" was from father to son<sup>5</sup>. The succession to the office of the secular kingship of Mangaia passed, as we have seen, from one group to another, according to the fortunes of war, and references here to succession among these great chiefs refer to the passing of the titles within their respective families and not to the secular kingship of the island.

As regards chiefs of Mangaia, and perhaps of Rarotonga, Gill says that the office and power of a tribal chief went to the brother, but when all the brothers were dead, it would be transmitted to the eldest born of the eldest male branch of the ruling family<sup>6</sup>. Then again, he tells us that the order of descent in regal families was usually from father to son; but with great land or warrior chiefs it was different, the brothers of the deceased taking precedence of his sons, because it was their strong arms that had won and preserved the tribal lands<sup>7</sup>. I fancy Gill is speaking here of Mangaia and is distinguishing between the sacred kings and the secular kings, the latter being here, as in the passage quoted above, spoken of as the warrior chiefs. Gill says elsewhere that throughout the islands the children inherited the status and property of their father, and the largest share of the land would fall to the eldest son<sup>8</sup>. This means, I think, that the eldest son would succeed to the title and land, and his own share of the latter would be the largest<sup>9</sup>. Gill (referring, I think, to Mangaia) tells us that generally the

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, vol. III, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Moerenhout, vol. II, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *D.L.P.* p. 314 note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> See Gill, *L.S.J.* p. 46, which supports my interpretation.

<sup>6</sup> Ribourt, p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> Gill, *Myths*, p. 293.

<sup>8</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Gill, *Jottings*, p. 119 note 3.



chieftainship of the clan was exercised by the first-born son; but sometimes the god was said to have taken up his abode in the youngest of the family, this happening when the first-born was not considered fit to be chief of the tribe, in which case the younger son was invested by the clan with all the honours due to a first-born<sup>1</sup>. There is an apparent inconsistency in Gill's discrimination between the prior rights of brothers and sons respectively; I have tried to find an explanation of this, but have not been successful. Moss says that in Rarotonga the succession to a deceased *matamiapo* [the chiefs under the *ariki*] passed to the eldest son, unless the deceased had named another son before his death, and even if he did so his nomination might be obeyed or contested<sup>2</sup>.

I draw attention to the statement, which has appeared in the discussion of methods of election of successors, that in Rarotonga the son would, when he attained to manhood, fight and wrestle with his father for the mastery, and would, if he obtained it, take forcible possession of the father's farm. This practice may be compared with the system under which in Tahiti and some of the other Polynesian islands, the son succeeded, nominally at all events, at birth, and would or might be given the reins of government in his father's lifetime; and it is possible that what the Rarotongan son acquired as the result of his mastering of his father was, not merely possession of the "farm"—that is, the father's mere personal share of the property of the group—but the lordship and nominal ownership of the land of the whole group. However this may have been, there is an obvious similarity between the two practices, and they may well have had a common origin. I also draw attention to the Rotuman annual (*i.e.* in Rotuma six-monthly) ceremonies connected with the *sou* and my discussion of them (see chapter on "Control of Food Supply") and to the egg-finding ceremony of Easter Island and the fact that there the Miru sacred chief was expected, when he was old and feeble, to resign in favour of his son. I suggested that the Rotuman ceremonies may have been associated with the ideas and practices which Frazer discusses under the heading of *The Dying God*, and it seems to me that all the other practices to which I am now drawing attention may have had their origin in a desire to secure and maintain the virility of their chiefs. No other writer mentions the wrestling custom of Rarotonga;

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *L.S.J.* pp. 46 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Moss, *J.P.S.* vol. III, p. 24.



but it is possible that originally it had been a real test of the strength of the reigning chief, and had survived only as a formal performance, the result of which would depend upon the desire or otherwise of the chief to hand over the government to his son. I may point out as to this that the Easter Island egg ceremony, which may have originally been a true physical test, seems to have dwindled down into a mere form.

Gill says that an adopted son possessed land only so long as he went with the clan, and fought, if need be, against his nearest of kin for the tribe into which he had been adopted<sup>1</sup>. This means that, so long as he acted properly as a member of the clan, he could retain his portion of the clan land, which again means that he was recognized as an adopted member of the clan with the clan rights and privileges to which this entitled him. There is no statement that an adopted son was a possible successor to the person who adopted him; but I think, in view of what we are told about the land, that probably he was.

Gill says that the kingly office might descend in the female line, but the male line would invariably be preferred<sup>2</sup>. This does not necessarily mean that a woman could hold the royal title and govern as queen in her own right. Williams says that in Rarotonga the father's possessions went to the male branches of the family, and seldom, if ever, to the daughters<sup>3</sup>; and Gill, speaking perhaps only of Mangaia, says that a woman did not, as a rule, hold an inch of soil<sup>4</sup>. If a woman was not qualified to hold land, she could hardly be qualified to hold the name or title of a land-owning family or other social group; so the evidence indicates that woman could rarely do this. I may say, as to all this, that I have searched the historical records and genealogies or lists of the Hervey Islands, and have not found a reference to a single queen; but in some cases we are not told what was the sex of the persons appearing in the lists.

I have referred above to the statement as to the custom for the office of what I believe to have been the secular king to go to a brother, and on the death of all the brothers, to the eldest born of the eldest male branch of the ruling family; but here again Gill says that if the individual were deficient in intelligence or courage it would be declared that the god had taken up his abode in another member of the ruling family (usually the youngest male), who was then installed<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Gill, *S.P.N.G.* p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, pp. 212 sq.



## MARQUESAS

We have seen, in the chapter on election, that in the Marquesas the title passed automatically from a father to his child on the birth of the latter; Radiguet saying it was so whether the child was a boy or a girl, Mathias only mentioning the matter in connection with a son, and Tautain using the word child. Des Vergnes says that among the chiefs the succession passed from father to son, or sometimes in the collateral line<sup>1</sup>. According to Jardin, the right of succession, either to a king or a chief, passed to the eldest son, or, failing this, to the eldest daughter<sup>2</sup>. The practice of succession by adopted children prevailed, but writers state it differently. According to Jardin, it only applied to cases where the chief had no heir<sup>3</sup>. Mathias says the same thing and adds that the adopted heir was generally one of the chief's own relations. According to him, an adopted male heir would apparently have a claim prior to a daughter<sup>4</sup>. Des Vergnes says, not only that a daughter could succeed to the title of a chief, but that his wife could do so<sup>5</sup>; but I doubt the correctness of his statement as to the wife. Possibly he has seen a case in which she acted as guardian for a child.

## PAUMOTU

In the Paumotuan islands also, or at all events in Mangareva, a son succeeded, as we have seen, to the title in his father's lifetime. According to d'Urville, the succession in Mangareva went from father to son, and never from the king to his brother<sup>6</sup>; a case is referred to, however, of a king—the eldest of five sons—who was expected to appoint one of his brothers successor, but in fact his only son succeeded him<sup>7</sup>. Cuzent says the succession to a kingship went from father to son, and never from brother to brother<sup>8</sup>. Caillot says the king was always chosen from the same family. They usually selected the son to succeed the father, or sometimes a brother or nephew; but in certain circumstances it was a distant relation, if he pleased them more, or, what had more weight, if he had shown more courage in battle and more capacity in public affairs<sup>9</sup>. One of the French missionaries

<sup>1</sup> Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Jardin, p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>4</sup> Mathias, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> d'Urville, *V.P.S.* vol. II, pp. i, 427.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* pp. i, 433.

<sup>8</sup> Cuzent, *V.I.G.* p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 147.



says it seems certain that women had always been excluded from the succession<sup>1</sup>; but in one of Caillot's lists of the kings, carried to the date of conversion by the Roman Catholics, I find four successive names of people said to have been "princesses," by which, I presume, he means queens. The last of these is followed by nine other names; so their period was probably some time ago<sup>2</sup>. One of the French missionaries says that there were many adopted sons, and these had the same privileges as sons, including a right to the inheritance<sup>3</sup>.

### NIUE

In Niue, according to Thomson, a grown up son inherited his father's house and land<sup>4</sup>, which means that he succeeded to the title.

### ROTUMA

The office of *sou*, or spiritual king of Rotuma, was, as we have seen in the consideration of "Political Areas and Systems," a matter of more or less periodic appointment in turn by districts, and did not, as in Tonga and Mangaia, remain in the same family. We are not told of any difference between the system of family succession in the case of a *sou* family and any other. This means that a person who was at one time *sou* would, before and after that time, be only a secular chief; and a study of the history of the island discloses a case of the chief of a district who had at one time been the *fakpure*, or secular king, of the whole island, and had at another time been *sou*<sup>5</sup>. In the event of the death of a *pure* of a *hoang* his successor was one of its members, generally the brother of the deceased *pure*, or the oldest member of the *hoang*; and, if too young, a deputy was appointed<sup>6</sup>. I think Gardiner is speaking of the *hoang* whose chief would be the *ngangaja* of the district when he says that the successor would generally be the brother, the son of an elder brother, or the son of the last chief<sup>7</sup>. There is no reference to any qualification of women to the succession, except in the case—curiously enough—of the *sou*. Gardiner tells a legend of three brothers—members of a chief's family—who wanted to make their sister's husband *sou*; but in con-

<sup>1</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xiv, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xiv, pp. 340 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Thomson, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxi, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> See and compare Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, pp. 476, 396.

<sup>6</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 429.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 428.



sequence of opposition they compromised the matter by making the sister herself *sou-honi*<sup>1</sup>, which means a woman *sou*<sup>2</sup>. He says that at the present day [about 1897] *sou-honi* is a very big name, restricted to certain *hoang*. In the list of sixty *sou* given by him, all, he says, are men, but in many legends the names are those given to women at the present day, and he makes a suggestion as to this<sup>3</sup>. I may say that, on referring to this list, I find that the fourteenth name is "Souhoni Vakai"<sup>4</sup>.

### FOTUNA

The only information I have found as to Fotuna is a statement that the proper person to succeed a certain king, "according to the rules of heredity," was his brother<sup>5</sup>.

### UVEA

In Uvea the sovereignty, and the office of *kivalu* [first minister] were, according to Mangeret, both hereditary, not in the direct, but in the collateral line—brother succeeding brother; and if the dead king or minister left no brother, the children of the first brother succeeded<sup>6</sup>; but the successor selected might be a sister, even, apparently, if there were brothers<sup>7</sup>. A case is recorded in which a king was succeeded by his sister<sup>8</sup> and she again by his daughter<sup>9</sup>. Deschamps also says that succession to the kingship and to the office of *kivalu* were in the collateral, and not the direct line<sup>10</sup>.

### TOKELAU

In the Tokelau Island of Fakaofu the *ariki*, or head chief, was, as we have seen, the oldest male member of certain royal families. As to the succession to the headship of any one family, we are told that on the death of a man his land was divided up among his children, the eldest, whether son or daughter, receiving the largest share, and the rest in proportion to their ages<sup>11</sup>; which probably means that the eldest, either male or female, succeeded to the headship of the family. If a man of the royal family married a woman of another family his sons were eligible for the kingship; but the sons of a woman who married out of the royal family were not eligible<sup>12</sup>. This

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *J.A.I.* vol. xxvii, p. 515.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 518.

<sup>5</sup> Mangeret, vol. II, p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 104.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 350.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 353.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 374.

<sup>10</sup> Deschamps, p. 286.

<sup>11</sup> Lister, *J.A.I.* vol. xxi, p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*



means, I suppose, that, so far as the royal family was concerned, though perhaps a woman might succeed to the headship of the family, the issue of her marriage outside the family, would take the succession out of the family, which was not permitted.

### ELLICE ISLANDS

Evidence as to succession customs in the Ellice island of Funafuti is apt to become confused owing to the presence there of a system of alternating succession to the kingship of the island—the alternation apparently taking place between two or more families, probably branches of the same larger family. We are here only dealing with succession to the headship of a family, as a matter distinct from the alternating succession to the kingship of the island. As to this we have a little information from Mrs David, who says that the land was generally bequeathed by the father to his sons, with the understanding that his widow and unmarried daughters fed off it; sometimes it was left to the widow, and divided among the children at her death; sometimes it was left entirely to daughters, when there was no son; and sometimes portions were left expressly for daughters, even when there were sons<sup>1</sup>. This does not touch directly the question of succession; but it points to the children as the people who received the land, from which we may infer, unless Mrs David is referring to a system of recent origin, that the successor to the name would probably not be a collateral relation. Whitmee says that the sacred man of the village, by which he may mean the priest-chief, was chosen by the people from one particular family; and at his death his successor was generally, but not necessarily, his brother or son<sup>2</sup>.

### EASTER ISLAND

We have seen that in Easter Island, according to tradition, Hotu-matua nominated his eldest son as his successor, and gave him the royal establishment in the division of the land among the six children. We are also told by Mrs Routledge of the head chief of the Miru group, whom I regard as having originally been the king of the island, that his office was hereditary, and that it was customary, when he was old and feeble, that he should resign in favour of his son<sup>3</sup>. One of the French missionaries also says (1866) that, until lately, the

<sup>1</sup> Mrs David, pp. 187 sq.    <sup>2</sup> Whitmee, p. 27.    <sup>3</sup> Mrs Routledge, p. 241.



Easter Islanders had a recognized hereditary monarchy<sup>1</sup>; and Thomson (1886) says that the title of a chief [not only, I think, the king] was hereditary and descended from father to son<sup>2</sup>. Geiseler, on the other hand, says (1882) that on the death of the king, the honour passed to the brother as heir<sup>3</sup>. Mrs Routledge told me, before starting on her second visit to the Pacific, that the Easter Islanders were singularly wanting in organization. With the exception of the Miru people, no clan had even a titular head—at most a leader was chosen for war. She said, however, that the eldest son took all the property on the death of the father, owing, she gathered, some vague duty to the rest of the family; so probably there was, or had been, some idea of succession by this son.

### SIKAIANA

In the island of Sikaiana, according to Scherzer, when the king died, the oldest member of the community was elected as his successor<sup>4</sup>; but Woodford, after giving a list of what seem to have been the head chiefs or kings, says that brothers succeeded to the chieftainship<sup>5</sup>.

### TIKOPIA

D'Urville says that, in the island of Tikopia, on the death of a chief his son succeeded, or in default of a son, or if the son was too young, a brother succeeded<sup>6</sup>. Two statements on the subject were made to Rivers. According to one of these, a chief was succeeded by his son or, if he had no son, by his younger brother or his brother's son. Under no circumstances could he be succeeded by his sister's son<sup>7</sup>. According to the other, the chief was succeeded by his eldest son, unless he was too young, in which case the brother succeeded<sup>8</sup>. Rivers refers to the term *paito-ariki* as meaning literally "the house chief," and says that the *paito-ariki* saw that the orders of the chief were carried out<sup>9</sup>; and elsewhere he speaks of him as being a secondary chief<sup>10</sup>. The interest of this is that he was told that the brothers of the chief were called *paito-ariki*; but that this term was not transmitted to the son of the *paito-ariki*, but passed on to the son of the reigning chief<sup>11</sup>. It is just possible

<sup>1</sup> *A.P.F.* vol. xxxix, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Geiseler, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Geo. Journal*, vol. XLVIII, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Rivers, *H.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 306.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 338 note 1.

<sup>6</sup> W. J. Thomson, p. 472.

<sup>7</sup> Scherzer, vol. II, p. 617.

<sup>8</sup> D'Urville, *Astro.* vol. v, p. 311.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 340.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 340.



that we have here a trace of another example of alternate succession; we have only to imagine that, when *A* was chief, his brother was sub-chief, and that on *A*'s death his brother or brother's son would be chief, and *A*'s son would be sub-chief and so on; though I should think that, if there had been such a system in Rivers's time, he would have discovered it.

## ONGTONG JAVA

I have found no statements as to the order of succession in Ongtong Java; but a light is thrown upon the matter by the history of the island, which records successions to the head chieftainship. A head chief, Kehangomea, left two sons and three daughters; but the succession passed, not to any of them, but to a person called Wio, whose relationship to the deceased chief is not stated. Wio left six sons and a daughter, and was succeeded by his son Keolapai, who had two sons. Keolapai's successor, however, was his brother Ka'ape'i. Ka'ape'i had nine sons and three daughters. Nevertheless, on the death of Ka'ape'i, the succession passed to another brother of Keolapai and Ka'ape'i, called Mare'o. Mare'o had fourteen sons and two daughters; but the succession on his death passed, not to any of them, but to another member, called Haremaku, of the royal group. Haremaku was succeeded by his grandson, Kauraho, who had four sons and four daughters, of whom all but two sons died young, and was succeeded by his son Uila, who was the reigning chief when the information was collected. It was stated that on the death of Uila the succession would pass to his brother, if still alive, or if dead to Uila's son, or if he also failed to survive, to the eldest of his (Uila's?) half-brothers<sup>1</sup>.

In discussing the systems of succession in the Hervey Islands I drew attention to certain customs and practices, there and in other islands, which might be based upon a desire to ensure the possession and retention by their chiefs of the virility that was considered necessary for the performance of their duties, or which perhaps had their origin in such an intention. Ongtong Java offers another example of a similar character. The person here concerned was the high priest, but he may also have been a great chief, and in either case the example is pertinent. The highest priest, whose office it was to perform the daily cult of the *aiku* (god) was called *e ngoho i karinga*, and he united

<sup>1</sup> Parkinson, *I.A.E.* vol. XI, pp. 198 sq.



in himself all the priestly classes. When the great feast in honour of the *aiku* came round each year, all the islanders assembled, at the command of the head chief, in the principal islet of the group, and the chief chose a new *e ngoho i karinga* for the duration of the next year<sup>1</sup>. The similarity between this practice and the annual (six-monthly) retirement—real or nominal—of the *sou*, which seems to have taken place in Rotuma, is obvious.

#### ISLANDS OF NEW HEBRIDES

In the New Hebridean island of Futuna land did not descend in the male line only, the successor often being the son of the sister or niece of the late chief<sup>2</sup>. In Aneityum the chief's office was, according to Gunn, hereditary; it passed from father to son, or nephew or nearest male relation. There have only been female chiefs on rare occasions.

#### LINEAL ISSUE AND COLLATERAL RELATIONS

The most interesting questions underlying the customs as to succession are perhaps those of the relative eligibility of the children or grandchildren of the deceased holder of the name or title of the group, on the one hand, and his brothers or other collateral relations on the other, and of the right of primogeniture as between children. Possibly the latter has, in Polynesia, been associated with the idea that the god entered the eldest child; but this is a wide question, by no means confined to Polynesia, and I do not propose to discuss it. As regards the former question, if we assume, as I imagine we may do, that in the distant past systems of true matrilineal descent, with the accompanying matrilineal succession, and of exogamy, prevailed among the ancestors of these Polynesians, brothers and sisters of the deceased holder of the name would then, setting aside the question of the eligibility of women, be persons possibly qualified to succeed him; and the qualification would extend to the children of the sister of the deceased, but not to his own children, or those of his brothers. If that was so, the eligibility of the children of the deceased, and still more any recognition of a prior claim possessed by those children, has been a later development. The subject of the evolution, out of the more archaic system, of the rights of the father, is also a general one, not confined to Polynesia, and I should be travelling

<sup>1</sup> Parkinson, *I.A.E.* vol. XI, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Gunn, p. 205.



outside the scope of this book if I attempted to enter into a discussion of it; but I will refer to a few points in the Polynesian evidence.

The Samoan evidence is conflicting. According to Pritchard and Brown, the claim of a brother came before that of a son, and Pratt says that the brother generally succeeded. On the other hand, we have evidence that seems to point in the other direction, and some of the statements do so definitely. Von Bülow, for instance, says that the successor was generally a direct descendant of the deceased; and Krämer says he was generally one of the sons.

I have searched through the genealogical tables of the great families of Samoa, given by Krämer (vol. 1), to see what light they threw on the matter, but a few words of explanation must be given before I report the result. These are genealogies in the strict sense that they disclose successive marriages, with the children of those marriages, and the marriage in each case of one or other of those children. Therefore each genealogy shows an unbroken line of descent through parents and children, and it is intended to disclose the direct ancestry of the holder of the title in Krämer's time. It includes all people who formed links in the chain of descent, whether they had or had not been holders of the title. Therefore we must not, merely because in each case the descent passed from parent to child, assume that the succession to the title did so, and indeed such an assumption would lead us to the inaccurate conclusion that it always did so. In the cases of the great families of the *tuiaana*, the *tuiatua*, the *tuimanu'a* and the Malietoa, however, Krämer specifies a number of the persons as having been people who had held the title, so we can scrutinize these cases. Of course we do not know how far the earlier parts of the genealogies may be presumed to be substantially correct; but even if they are not so, they at least indicate the beliefs of the people as to the systems of succession which had been adopted by these families.

The tree of the *tuiaana* commences thirty-two generations back from Krämer's time; but the first nineteen of these generations only include three persons stated to have held the title of *tuiaana*; these, however, come together in a consecutive series. It is with *tuiaana* Tamalelangi, twelve generations back, that, according to Krämer, the real *tuiaana* line begins. The next person in the list is his daughter Salamasina, whose name has already appeared in my historical outline, and who was also a



*tuiaana*. She is followed by her daughter, who was a *tuiaana*; and after her comes her daughter, who was not a *tuiaana*. After her comes her son, who was a *tuiaana*. Then follow five names, each described either as a *tuiaana* or a *tafa'ifa*<sup>1</sup>. After these come, first two names, not stated to have been *tuiaana*, then the *tuiaana* living in Krämer's time. The effect of this evidence is that, commencing with Tamalelangi, the *tuiaana* succession passed generally, but not always, from parent to child, and we have the two successive cases before his time<sup>2</sup>.

The tree of the *tuiatua* commences twenty-seven generations back. The first name is a *tuiatua* and this is followed by two more *tuiatua*. Then come two names not stated to have been *tuiatua*. After this come eight successive *tuiatua*; and here the tree ends, the *tuiatua* pedigree having become mixed up with that of the *tuiaana*. It will be seen that with these *tuiatua* nearly all the successions have been from parent to child.

The *tuimanu'a* tree commences eighteen generations back. The second name is that of Galeali, who was, as we have seen, the first traditional chief of Manu'a. All the sixteen names following it were those of *tuimanu'a*, except four, these being respectively eleven, nine, four and one generations back.

The Malietoa tree goes twenty-two generations back. The first three persons are not identified as bearing this name, which begins with the fourth, Savea, this being the person to whom, as we have seen, it was first given, after the driving out of the Tongans. Then follow three Malietoa, the last of whom was La'auli, the father of the woman Ngatoaitale, associated, as we have seen, with the origin of the office of *tafa'ifa*. The next two names are those of Ngatoaitale and another woman, who were not Malietoa. Next comes a *tuiaana*, who may also have been a Malietoa, followed by a person who is not stated to have borne the Malietoa title. Then follow a Malietoa, and another person without the title. Then follow nine Malietoa in succession. It is clear that in the more recent period, at all events, the succession was from parent to child.

It is useless to apply this investigation to the genealogies of the other great families of Samoa, because Krämer only gives the names of the various people, without distinguishing between those who did, and did not, bear the family title.

<sup>1</sup> A *tafa-ifa* would necessarily be a person holding the title of *tuiaana*.

<sup>2</sup> We must only regard two of the three cases as showing succession of the *tuiaana* title.



Turning now to Tonga, the general weight of the evidence concerning the *tuitonga* points to his son as his presumed successor. The rest of the evidence refers mainly to chiefs, and there is a considerable amount of testimony pointing to the son as the person with a prior claim, although, according to some of the statements, he might be passed over, and the succession given to a brother or some other relative. I think all this is in accordance with the conclusions at which we should arrive by a study of the history of Tonga. There are, however, a few statements to which I must draw attention. Young (1854) says that any member of the royal family *used to be* eligible to be king; Pritchard (1866) says the brother's claims had precedence over those of a son; Père A. C. (1890) says that royal succession *formerly* went from brother to brother, but then (when he wrote) went from father to son. I think we may suspect that there had been some period, sufficiently recent to be known when the information was collected, at which the claim of the son was not so developed as it afterwards became; though Cook's statement as to succession by a son takes us a long way back. If there was a system of alternating succession to the secular kingship of Tongatabu this might well be a source of confusion as to the practice of succession *within* each of the royal families.

In the Society Islands, with their practice of abdication by a head chief or king on the birth of a son, or perhaps a daughter, there was evidently a presumed expectation of continuance in office by this first-born child, and we have Ellis's statement that this custom of abdication prevailed among the other chiefs also, and even among the *ra'atira*. The general effect of the evidence is that the claim of a collateral relation only arose in case there was no child, the only statements to the contrary being Ribourt's statement (1847) that the succession *formerly* went to any member of the family, and the uncertain view of one of the Spaniards, and the definite statement by another, both made long ago; and it is possible that we have here an indication of some survival of an older system—perhaps that of alternate succession.

In the Hervey Island of Mangaia the office of the sacred king is said by Gill to have been "hereditary," whatever that may mean; and that of the Rulers of Food passed from father to son. The secular kingship of the island passed backwards and forwards, from one group to another according to the fortunes of war, but that has nothing to do with the customs as to



succession within the families or groups. I am not always able to discriminate between the grades of rank of chiefs to which the evidence refers, or between evidence relating to Mangaia and Rarotonga respectively. An important feature of one part of Gill's evidence is his distinction between a practice of descent from father to son in "regal" families, and of giving precedence to brothers in the families of the "great land or warrior chiefs." I fancy he is distinguishing between the sacred kings of Mangaia on the one hand and the secular chiefs on the other; but I am unable to interpret his evidence as a whole with any confidence. According to Moss, the succession among the minor chiefs of Rarotonga passed to a son—presumably the eldest. Turning now to the genealogies of the royal families of Rarotonga, I draw attention first to a tree, provided by Gill, of the Karika (Makea) kings. This is, on the face of it, a mere list, which might be a list of successive kings, whose relationship to one another is not disclosed; or it might be a genealogy, showing successive descents from parent to child; but in the latter case it does not follow that the names in the list were all kings. Gill, however, refers to the people whose names appear in it as being the kings, and says that the succession was from parent to child, except in one case, to which I have referred in a previous chapter, in which a younger brother supplanted an elder brother who had been guilty of misconduct<sup>1</sup>. The list itself begins with the original Karika, and continues to the twenty-second generation, when commenced the dual kingship, to which I have already referred, and shall mention again, and which carries the list eight generations further<sup>2</sup>. Nicholas also gives a list of these kings in which the successions from parents to children are indicated<sup>3</sup>. He also gives a genealogy of the royal Pa family of the Tangiia line of kings or head chiefs, which appears to be a list of them and in which successions from parents to children are indicated<sup>4</sup>. Of course the earlier parts of these lists are purely legendary, but the system of successions disclosed would probably be in accord with general tradition.

In the Marquesas, where the eldest son, or perhaps daughter, succeeded on birth, children had, according to the evidence, the prior right, although it is said that the succession might pass in a collateral line.

<sup>1</sup> Gill, *A.A.A.S.* vol. II, p. 628.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas, *J.P.S.* vol. I, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 631 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 25 sqq.



In Mangareva of the Paumotu Islands the son succeeded in his father's lifetime and we are told by d'Urville and Cuzent that the succession to a kingship always went to a son, and never to a brother; whilst Caillot says that, though usually given to a son, it might be given to a brother or nephew or distant relation.

Apparently the son succeeded in Niue, though we have only one statement as to this.

In Rotuma the successor to the position of *pure* to a *hoang* was generally a brother or the oldest member of the *hoang*, and even in speaking apparently of the family whose head was *ngangaja* of the district, the deceased chief's son is put by Gardiner last—but this may not be intentional.

The only available statement we have from Fotuna mentions the brother as the proper successor; and in Uvea, we are told that the succession went in the collateral, and not the direct line.

In Fakaofu (Tokelau Islands) one of the children apparently succeeded the father; and it seems that this was so in the Ellice Island of Funafuti. In Easter Island the succession to the Miru head chief appears to have gone to a son; but we do not know who was the presumed successor for other people. In Tikopia it went primarily to a son. In Ongtong Java it seems generally to have gone to collateral relatives.

The feature in the evidence to which I draw attention first is the difference in the several islands between the groups of persons from whom the successor would probably be chosen. In some islands the successor would probably be a child, and in others he would probably be a brother or other collateral relation; in some cases one or other of these two groups seems to have had a definite right to priority, and where this priority was accorded to collateral relations the children might, I imagine, be excluded practically from the succession; in some islands the priority appears to have been doubtful or, at all events, the evidence concerning it is conflicting.

The evidence does not justify us in arriving at any conclusion as to a difference concerning these matters between the practices of the highest or higher classes, and the other classes. This point of difference is brought out definitely by Gill's statement that in the Hervey Islands—apparently Mangaia—the succession in the regal families usually passed from father to son, whilst among the great land or warrior chiefs the brothers of the chief took precedence. There is



ground for thinking that among the higher chiefs a child was, in some parts of Polynesia, preferred and, in some cases, had a definite presumptive right of priority. We see this in the case of the *tuitonga* and perhaps in that of the sacred king of Mangaia; and the historical records of some of the islands lead to the belief that it was a common system among the higher chiefs of those islands. It was in the hope of obtaining further light upon the subject that I searched the preserved genealogies and lists of kings and higher chiefs of the several islands. Some of these were mere lists and so were useless; in some cases the interpretations to be put upon them were more than doubtful; so only a few of them have been referred to by me here, but these point, I think, to a practice under which children were at least the *probable* successors, though in the cases of the *tuiaana* and the *Malietao* all that we can conclude is that it was so during the later periods covered by the trees. This point is, I may say, brought out further by customs among the upper classes, to which writers refer, of selecting for what is sometimes called the "official" wife of the son of a great chief a woman of high social rank, the avowed object of this selection being that she would transmit her rank to her children, to one or other of whom would probably pass the subsequent succession to the title.

I draw attention again to statements by writers pointing to differences between the practices of their own times and those of previous days. Père A. C. says that royal succession in Tonga formerly went from brother to brother, but when he wrote it went from father to son; Young says that in Tonga any member of the royal family used to be eligible to be king; and Ribourt says that in Tahiti succession was formerly transmitted by election to any member whatever of the family of the chief. Even assuming that the prior right of a child of the chief had developed out of increased indigenous recognition of the rights of a father, it is possible that this right had expanded still further under the influence of missionaries and others, who did not understand the old clan system. The fact remains that in two islands, where the superior eligibility of the child seems to have been fairly well established, we have statements pointing to a previous system (we do not know how long ago) of succession by collateral relations.

In discussing the question of matrilineal descent I have drawn attention to the way in which in Samoa the relationship



between a brother and his sister, including the more or less dominating power which she had over him, seems to have been continued sometimes in subsequent generations, as between her and his descendants. I now suggest that the system of alternate succession may possibly have had an origin in a practice for a man to be succeeded by his brother. In the early days of both matrilineal descent and matrilineal succession and of exogamy the man's son could not succeed, but his brother could; and my suggestion is that the original relationship between the two brothers may have continued to be recognized as between their respective families of descendants, these two families alternately providing the head chief or king who was to rule over both of them.

I have given examples of alternate and dual successions in some of the chapters on "Political Areas and Systems," and have discussed them and others in my "Observations" upon that subject; but I have, in considering the subject of "Succession," referred to two other possible illustrations—one in Tahiti and the other in Tikopia—of the same thing. My present comments will be based upon what I have already said on the matter.

I take as my starting point Schultz's statement that in Samoa, if the founder *X* had two sons *A* and *B*, he could appoint either of them to be his heir. If, say, he appointed *A*, then on *A*'s death, it was not his children, but the surviving brother *B* who had the right to inherit. Then, if *B* died, the name might not remain in his family, but must return to the children of *A*; and so on alternately (*felafoa'i*, to throw to and fro). If Schultz is correct in his statement, and if the interpretation I have put upon it is sound, then the system explained by him is one of alternate succession founded on the original brother to brother relationship; in which case, if we may believe that the systems described or referred to by other writers, even if not the same, were substantially similar, then it is probable that they have had a similar origin. The Samoan example is, so far, at all events, as explained to us, comparatively simple; but in Funafuti there was, apparently, another feature in the practice for the king for the time being to have as his subordinate chief the son of his predecessor, that son afterwards becoming that king's successor. My suggestion that there was perhaps in Tonga a system of alternate succession between the Haatakalaua and Kanokubolu families is based on the supposition that the system there was similar to that of Funafuti. The statement



that in Tahiti the succession was from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew, when compared with what we are told as to Borabora and Huahine, may possibly point to a system like that of Samoa; and if my suggestion as to the possible explanation of the Tikopian evidence is correct, we have an example of a system of alternate chiefdom and sub-chiefdom comparable with that of Funafuti. The Rotuman system as to the *sou* seems to have been different, because it was apparently a matter of more or less periodic election in turn by a number of districts. The system of dual kingship prevailing with the Makea (Karika) kings of Rarotonga was not, so far as we have been informed, an alternating system. There were two lines of kings, descended, according to Gill, from two wives of a previous sole king, in which case we at all events have the feature of descent from two brothers. Gill says that they both enjoyed regal honours, and that, though only one of them wielded authority, he did it in the names of both of them. He does not say that the king who had the authority was always of the same line, and it is possible that this was a matter of alternation, in which case the system was perhaps similar to that of Funafuti. The white king and black king of Mangareva were two brothers, both recognized as kings, but of whom one only exercised authority, whilst the other was little more than king by name; and on their deaths the throne was occupied jointly by their respective sons. Presumably the position between these two sons also would be that one exercised the authority and the other was subject to him; but here again we are not told that the authority alternated.

The systems recorded in the different islands were not, so far as the available information is concerned, identical; but when we consider them we are, I think, justified in recognizing that they may possibly have been very much alike; and the origin is stated to have been two brothers in the cases of Samoa, Rarotonga and Mangareva. The several systems, whether similar or not, have features of resemblance which justify the suspicion that they had a common origin; and if this was so, we may believe, in view of the wide-spread prevalence of the systems, that this common origin was long ago. Then, if that origin was succession from brother to brother, we are led to believe that in the early days this had been a common, and perhaps a dominant, system.

There are a few other statements to which I also refer in connection with the question of brother to brother succession. We



have seen that in Mangaia, and perhaps in Rarotonga, the succession in the case of a "tribal chief" went, according to Gill, to the brother, but, when all the brothers were dead, it would be transmitted to the eldest born of the eldest male branch of the ruling family. In the Tokelau island of Fakaofu the *ariki* was always, according to Newell (see "Areas and Systems"), the oldest male member of certain families; no young man could become head of the clan, so long as an older man was left to take the headship, and the old men formed the ruling council. In Sikiana, according to Woodford, brothers succeeded to the head chieftainship; but Scherzer says that when the king died the oldest member of the community was elected as his successor. In Rotuma the succession to the position of *pure* of a *hoang* generally went to a brother or to the oldest member of the *hoang*. Setting aside the references to brothers, if we regard the terms "ruling family" of a tribe (Mangaia), "certain families" evidently forming or ruling a clan (Fakaofu), "community" (Sikiana), and *hoang* (Rotuma), as all referring to families or other larger social groups, we find that in each case the succession passed to the oldest member of the group, except that it is said that in Mangaia he had to belong to the oldest male branch of the family group. In Mangaia, with its views as to primogeniture, the eldest brother would probably be the first of the original brothers to hold the title, so the later succession would come to his descendant by a process of rotation. It is possible that a similar system has prevailed in some of the other islands, but has not been noticed. I have suggested that the selection in Fakaofu of the eldest member of the group was gerontocratic in principle, though not in fact, but the possibility now suggested introduces another feature into the matter.

#### SUCCESSION BY WOMEN

The evidence introduced into previous pages refers in places to succession by women. There is no doubt that in most, at all events, of the islands women were qualified to succeed, and that the line of succession could pass through women; and I could have collected a number of examples from the traditions and history which indicate that they did so, though as a rule the successors have been men. This would, however, have involved a considerable lengthening of the chapter, which seemed hardly necessary.



## CHAPTER XLIV

### THE HEAD OF THE SOCIAL GROUP

I PROPOSE, in conclusion, to say, by way of recapitulation, a few words about the Head of the Social Group, because I think that the recognition of this office was one of the fundamental features of the social and political systems of Polynesia. I will for this purpose draw attention again to what I mean by this term. A group, occupying a whole island, or a considerable part of it, and perhaps spreading over other islands also, had its official head chief, or king as he was often called by writers. A domestic household would have as its head, probably the father if living, or otherwise, say, one of the sons. Between these two extremes there were a number of intermediate means. The jurisdiction of the head of the main group was over the entire group, subject to such rights of local self-government as might be possessed by the separate sub-groups. The jurisdiction of the head of a sub-group was over the whole of the sub-group, subject to a similar qualification as to its sections. And so on downwards to the head of a domestic household. In drawing attention to the characteristic features affecting the position of the head of a group, and his powers and duties, I shall use the term "group" as applying, also, subject to the explanation given above, to sub-groups and sections of sub-groups, great and small; and I shall only be speaking broadly and generally, without implying that all the systems and customs referred to are indicated by the evidence from, or necessarily prevailed in, all the islands.

The head of a group had to be one of its members, either actually or by adoption into the group. In the case of a large group divided into sub-groups he was generally a member (presumably the head) of one particular sub-group—that is, there was what writers sometimes call a royal family, which was recognized as providing the kings or head chiefs of the group; and in some cases there were two or more such families, a member of one or other of which would be the king. A similar system seems to have prevailed among smaller groups also. The requirement that the head of the group should be one of



its members is indicated by the evidence as to modes of election and as to succession, and incidentally elsewhere. There are references to "hereditary" succession, which I have not always quoted in discussing the subject of succession, because I do not know what they mean, some writers apparently using the term to indicate only succession by a son or lineal issue, whilst others seem to use it in the wider sense of heredity in the family or group generally. The use of the term by writers indicates, however, that the person elected had to be a relative, which means that he was a member of the group.

The head of the group was the holder for the time being of the recognized title or name of the group.

He was believed to be invested with a degree of sanctity, varying according to his rank and the general status and rank of the group of which he was the head; and he was the natural high priest of the group, though the higher chiefs or kings had a practice of delegating some of their sacred duties to others.

The persons who elected him to the position of head of the group were themselves members of the group. In the case of a small group the electors were probably related, more or less closely, to the possible candidates; but in the case of a large group they were in some cases, and probably in many, a body of men, spoken of by some writers as an "electoral college," who were the representative, and in some cases, at all events, ancestral electors of the head; there was a practice, at all events in some of these cases, for the person elected to be publicly proclaimed afterwards to a general assembly of the group, whose assent would presumably be expressed, actively or by lack of opposition, any opposition being probably followed by war within the group<sup>1</sup>.

His powers, as head of the group, seem to have varied in different places and presumably at different periods in the same place, and they probably depended to a large extent upon his own character and personality. So far as the actual evidence is concerned, Samoa especially seems to have been a place in which the power of a head chief was relatively small, as compared with his power in some of the other islands, being limited by the control exercised by the *fono* or council meeting, which apparently also performed certain official duties that in other islands were, we are told, performed by the chief. The amount

<sup>1</sup> I have referred to a few examples of this where it was necessary for the purpose of considering the question of election; but there are others.



of weight which we are to attach to evidence as to this depends upon the extent of the influence which the chief could bring to bear upon the discussions and decisions of the council meeting, and this would probably vary in different places, and at different times, and according to the character and personality of the chief. I must refer, as regards the chiefs, to their wide-spread power of establishing taboos, though evidence as to this has been confined to those relating to food supply.

I think we must recognize that, whatever might be the extent of the influence of the head of a group at its council meeting, it was he who occupied the place of honour, and was, nominally at all events, and probably in most cases actually, regarded as what might be called the chairman of the meeting, even in cases where the duties of the office were performed by others, and, perhaps, he himself did not speak<sup>1</sup>.

As regards the judicial powers of the head of a group, the Samoan evidence, looking at it broadly, points, I think, to the head of a relatively small sub-group as being its usual magistrate, subject perhaps to an appeal to the local *fono*, whilst quarrels between one sub-group and another, or offences which in some other way affected the peace of the whole group, or were matters of importance to it, came within the jurisdiction of the *fono* of the group, in the deliberations of which it may be assumed that its chief or other head would take a prominent part. In Tonga it seems that the magistrates of small districts were the inferior chiefs and those of the larger districts superior chiefs, and that there was perhaps an ultimate appeal to the head chief or king of all of them; and these chiefs would be the heads of their respective groups and sub-groups. We cannot say whether, or to what extent, the *fono* had jurisdiction. A somewhat similar system prevailed, apparently, in the Society Islands, and there again we do not know what powers, if any, were possessed by council meetings or other judicial bodies. I refer, as regards the Hervey Islands, to Gill's statement that in Mangaia, at all events, disputes rested with the tribal chief; whilst in Rarotonga, according to Moss, a father seems to have been magistrate in his own family, and apparently chiefs exercised jurisdiction over larger groups, or in important matters. There is no indication of any defined system of criminal jurisdiction in the Marquesas. The only thing we know of the Paumotu Islands is that in Mangareva the king

<sup>1</sup> This also has only been indicated partially.



administered justice. In Niue the evidence, so far as it goes, points to the *fono* as being the law court. In Rotuma the magistrate of the *hoang* was, so far, at all events, as land disputes were concerned, its *pure*, or head, or, if he could not decide a dispute, it was referred to the *ngangaja* or chief of the district, who also decided disputes between members of different *hoang*; there are also general statements that justice was administered by the chiefs. The island of Fakaofu had, apparently, an official judge; but he worked in consultation with the king and priests. Judicial authority in the island of Funafuti seems to have rested with the king and chiefs, though perhaps questions were discussed by some sort of council meeting. Whatever criminal jurisdiction there may have been in Easter Island seems to have rested with the king and chiefs; and the chiefs seem to have been the magistrates in Tikopia. Taking all the evidence together, we must, I think, recognize that kings, chiefs and heads of small groups had considerable power, at all events in most of the islands, over the members of their respective groups in the administration of justice.

The evidence as to the controlling power of the head of the group over the land of the group is too detailed and diverse for more than a very general survey. The land of the group was regarded as being vested in him. I think that, speaking generally, it points to the head of the group as the person who, in most of the islands, would parcel out the land of the group among the respective sections or members, both for seasonal and more or less permanent occupation; but he had no power to alienate the land, even using that term with the restricted meanings understood in Polynesia, without the concurrence of the other members of the group, or the representatives of its constituent sections.

The evidence as to the control of food supply and restriction of consumption is, in the cases of most of the islands, very insufficient; but, though in Samoa this duty appears to have rested with the *fono*, the general weight of such evidence as is offered with reference to some of the other islands points to the chiefs as the people who took the lead in or actually controlled these matters; and there are suggestions in some cases that the great chiefs or kings had supernatural powers of promoting good harvests.

The right of a chief or other head of a group to tribute (in kind, of course) or first-fruits is reported or suggested by the



evidence obtained from some of the islands; but it is not always clear whether what he received was not, in theory at all events, an offering to the god, handed to him as high priest. On the other hand, there is evidence of a wide-spread practice for chiefs to be supplied in a more or less irregular and unsystematic way with food, and in some cases other things also; and this may perhaps be regarded as an informal tribute. I do not think this view of the matter is contradicted by customs of redistribution by the recipient chief; because this appears to have been made as a rule among people closely related to or associated with him.

I may say that I hope to show hereafter that the chiefs also took the leading part or the position of importance, in feasts, kava parties, and other social functions and ceremonies, including the reception of visitors; and I imagine that the minor heads of families would do so also in similar functions of their own respective classes of society. There were also other matters in which the head of the group seems to have had some controlling power over its members; but the consideration of these does not come within the scope of this book.



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The following abbreviations are used:

f. = family (after proper names);  
 m.s. = man speaking  
 w.s. = woman speaking } (after relationship terms).

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